# Daily Report

# East Europe

FBIS-EEU-91-105
Friday
31 May 1991

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## Premier Nano Speaks on Effects of Strike

*AU3005130791 Tirana ATA in English 0809 GMT 30 May 91*

["Excerpts" from speech by Premier Fatos Nano to the People's Assembly on 29 May]

[Text] Tirana, May 30 (ATA)—The Council of Ministers examined with great responsibility the very grave economic situation, which has further aggravated because of the recent days' strikes and has considered the danger of the social tensions.

The government which emerged from the first multiparty parliament only a fortnight ago is aware of the grave situation. Although it is not responsible for the mistakes and problems accumulated for many years, it took upon itself the heavy burden to stabilize the country's socioeconomic situation and to embark it on new paths of development.

In the grave conditions it took office, the government openly laid the need to have the necessary time for carrying out its program. Precisely for this reason, it appealed to the People's Assembly to attain a general understanding for suspending strikes at least till the end of this year.

In the following days, the government tried to do its best within its competences to find out a realistic solution to the problem of how to come out of the crisis, considering also the strikers' demands.

The first and main step of the government program was to complete the study on the wages and prices reform, initiated before the strikes. Its application constitutes the basic orientation of the whole reform of transition from the centrally planned economy onto the free market economy.

Even after these measures were declared, the strikes, despite the falling tendency, were not suspended. Actually approximately 130,000 working people have been swept by it.

Heightened intensity is observed in the districts of Shkoder, Tirana, Durres, Korce, Elbasan, Vlore and Kruje. As for the branches where strike has broken out with high intensity are transport, chemical industry, engineering one, construction, and light industry and some mines as well. It is less extended in the foodstuff industry, public services and trade.

In general the strike is not extended in the sectors linked with the vital daily needs of the people, such as the bread, milk and other foodstuff supply, water, energy etc.

It comes out from approximate calculations that so far the economic damage is estimated to about 150 million leks.

Different statements shift the blame on the government for not having adopted measures to prevent the strike and displaying indifference concerning the demands of workers and trade unionists. This is not true.

The government has been and is ready to enter into cooperation with the trade unions and has carried on the dialogue with them. It has given solutions to the problems within its competence at a time when solving others depends on the new laws to be approved by the People's Assembly.

Three days after receiving the 17-point petition of April 9, 1991 by the Union of Independent Trade Unions of Albania, at the meeting with its representatives, we discussed and agreed on the main questions and the ways for their solution.

As for the demands for the 50 percent wage and pensions increase, we decided to settle them upon completion of a study, which as has already been reported, gave solutions to these problems in compliance with the trade unions' requests.

Under the difficult circumstances when the government took office, it was faced with numerous and often ultimate requests for wage and pension increases and the improvement of the working and living conditions from many work centers and working collectives .

In order to clarify and find out ways and possibilities to fulfill their just demands, there were working groups with specialists and heads of departments and apparatus of the Council of Ministers.

In order to maintain the standard of living of buyers, we uphold that major mass consumer goods prices be fixed by the Council of Ministers and every price rise will be fully compensated with increases of wages, pensions, and subventions for the citizens and peasants as well.

It has already become clear that special elements in the Presidency of the Independent Trade Unions and the strike's organizing commissions are abusing the workers' just economic demands and exploiting them for political goals, in order to paralyse the state, to arouse social tensions which impair people's unity. At a time when all political forces have expressed themselves for the restoration of order and functioning of the judicial state, the government is faced with numerous illicit actions. In some districts and sectors, trade union leaders, contrary to their status, speculate about undertaking duties or functions belonging to the state administration. Red tape created several years ago has also stimulated these actions.

Such actions as the hunger strikes in mines do not contribute to the lofty aims the whole people are interested in, neither do they serve the defence of the fundamental human rights. Therefore the government appeals to all the working people to dissociate themselves from empty promises and ultimate and unrealisable demands of some hot headed persons, claiming to represent the legitimate interests of all the working people.

The government is fully confident that our people, who have known how to survive for centuries, has the proper strength and wisdom to follow the road of normal life, democracy and integration in Europe with dignity and civilization.

### Hunger Strikes at Valias, Other Areas Continue

*AU3005151491*

[Editorial Report] Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian at 1330 GMT on 30 May devotes 12 minutes of its regular 30-minute newscast to reports on the continuing hunger strike at the Valias mine and strikes in other districts.

Sokol Perihati states: "Dear listeners, I set off for the Valias mine today to prepare this report, because this mine has been in everyone's mind for the last six days. One hundred and forty seven hours have passed since the moment when the miners of the Tirana coal basin began their hunger strike in this mine's galleries."

In a recorded interview, the mine's doctor, Ylber Berberi, states: "The strikers' state of health is deteriorating fast. There are suffering from severe muscle cramps, with vomiting, skin complaints, and low blood pressure." "No miner has agreed to accept treatment at Tirana Hospital, although we have said this is necessary." Perihati then states: "After this conversation, we descended with our microphone 160 meters below ground. It is a distressing scene, but there is great faith among the miners that the government will meet their fair demands." Miners taking part in the hunger strike are then interviewed. One miner states: "This is a historic moment. I am fully convinced that the fate of our nation is at stake—not only the fate of Albania, but of our nation." Another miner states: "As a member of the Albanian Workers Party and the Independent Trade Unions, I consider our 17 demands to be fully fair."

An announcer-read report states that the health condition of the Durres railroad workers, "now entering their third day on hunger strike," is "relatively good."

In a telephone report from Kruje, a reporter states: "Fifteen days have passed since the working people of the centers of labor and production in Kruje District stopped. The effects are well known. A certain amount of agricultural work is being carried out, but here too there are many delays both in the spring sowing and in fieldwork." The reporter states that hunger strikes are expected to start in Kruje and Lac.

In a telephone report, Elbasan reporter Sulejman Haxhihasani states: "Once again, hundreds and hundreds of people have gathered in support of the strikers in the locomotive shed of Elbasan railroad station, who are now in their third day on hunger strike. Strike Committee Chairman Agim Demishi said to those present that we are not interested in the composition of the government or the solutions offered by the political parties, but we are determined to insist to the point of death on our economic demands, social peace, and higher living standards."

A Berat reporter states that the general strike is continuing in many collectives, while work has stopped at others because of a shortage of raw materials. Twenty-five workers are reported to have started a hunger strike.

### Assembly Deputies Visit Valias Hunger Strikers

*AU3005195791 Tirana ATA in English 1800 GMT 30 May 91*

[Text] Tirana, May 30 (ATA)—In the last sitting of May 29 after 2200 o'clock the People's Assembly decided that a group of deputies out of the three parliamentary groups go immediately after the sitting closed to Valias mine and meet with the striking miners in the pits of this mine.

Hence the deputies Azem Hajdari, Napolon Roshi, Dritan Shehu, Franko Kroqi, Petrit Laftiu, and Ritvan Peshkepia, of the Democratic Party; the deputies Halim Elezi, Mehmet Loci and Thoma Angjellari, of the Party of Labour; and Thoma Mico of Omonia went to Valias mine at 2300 hours.

After a brief meeting with the director of the mine, Agim Hyseni and the chairman of the Miners' Independent Trade Union, Shyqri Xibri, descended into the pit at about 1200 that night to meet with the striking miners.

The miners expressed their gratefulness for this meeting and their trust in the proceedings of this assembly. A dialogue was conducted between the deputies and the strikers about the fulfillment of the latter's demands. Then the head of the strike handed over to the deputies a statement that was read out there and that expresses their firm determination that they will not come out of the underground alive unless all their demands are met.

The meeting lasted for more than two hours. The deputies ensured the strikers that they will fight with a spirit of honesty and principle and will justify the trust the people have bestowed upon them.

### Students Hold Peaceful Rally; Support Miners

*AU3005164491 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1600 GMT 30 May 91*

[Text] As our television correspondent (?Shyqri Idrizi) reports, the streets leading to Skenderbeg Square witnessed a special gathering again today. The students of Tirana University gathered in groups in a spontaneous rally to express solidarity with the miners of the Tirana coal basin, and especially the Valias miners. Apart from students, young people from various enterprises in the capital, workers, and other citizens took part.

The forces of order helped to prevent any motor vehicles entering the square, and the rally took place peacefully. The citizens arriving at the square remained there and

heard various speakers, shouting slogans such as: "The students are with the miners"; "Down with bureaucracy"; "Albania is ours," etc. The rally lasted one and one-half hours. It took place peacefully and without any incidents, and was accompanied by songs and enthusiastic shouting. At 1200, the students ended the peaceful rally and those present dispersed quite peacefully to pursue their own business.

### Assembly Suspended; PPSh Views 'New Solutions'

*AU3005161291 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1600 GMT 30 May 91*

[Text] The deputies of the People's Assembly gathered at 1000 this morning. The Presidency announced the suspension of the proceedings at the request of the legislative group of the Albanian Workers Party [PPSh], who required time to discuss new and urgent political solutions acceptable to all political forces. The Assembly has still not resumed its proceedings.

### Protestors Delay Assembly Session

*AU3005193791 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 30 May 91*

[Zamire Koleci report]

[Text] The People's Assembly was expected to resume its proceedings at 1700; however, deputies had still not started the session as of 1800. Meanwhile, several thousand working people from Valias and other collectives, young people, and students had been gathering for more than an hour on Skenderbeg Square. After their peaceful demonstration on the square, they headed down the street toward the People's Assembly building, demonstrating by shouting slogans calling for the government's resignation, expressing full support for the miners on hunger strike at Valias, and shouting: "Freedom, democracy"; "We want Albania to be like all Europe."

At the request of the forces of order for the demonstrating masses to be calmed, and also in response to the desire of the demonstrators themselves, the deputies Sali Berisha, Gramoz Pashko, Azem Hajdari, and Panajot Barka and others called for calm and order. They asked the demonstrators to disperse so the People's Assembly could proceed in peace with its discussions on solving the important problems on which the legislative groups have been working for two days. After a few minutes, the people dispersed.

The Assembly then recommenced its proceedings. Presidency President Kastriot Islami suggested to deputies that, bearing in mind the very serious situation, he wished to read out two of the many letters, telegrams, and petitions that have arrived.

Meanwhile, Deputy Sali Berisha expressed the view that these letters, telegrams, and petitions, which are innumerable, should be circulated among deputies without being read out in the Assembly. It is in the interest of the people, he said, for the Assembly to work intensively, with dedication and commitment as they have up to now, to provide a solution to the issues that distress us all.

Deputy Flamur Cani suggested that the Assembly should debate in a closed session and that the president should also take part, and that meanwhile the forces of order should condemn the culprits for the demonstrations yesterday and today in Tirana, because these demonstrations were illegal.

Selim (?Sela), supporting the view of Deputy Flamur Cani, pointed out that the Assembly's proceedings cannot continue under such pressure.

Gramoz Pashko suggested that the Assembly should continue its proceedings in an open session, because the people must know what is happening. Therefore, he said, let us continue work with a specific agenda.

Deputy Petraq Nasaj said, among other things, that work cannot continue under duress. Who does honor to the Assembly? The forces for the maintenance of order and the bureaucracy must be held responsible.

(?Avni Lera), taking the floor, said that under such conditions we need calm and prudence, because otherwise history and the people will seriously condemn us. The Assembly's work, he continued, must not be interrupted, so the crowds will not become annoyed and so that the people will learn what the Assembly decides. (?Nedin Gjuraj) said that the concern of recent days has reached a peak today. We, therefore, must ask the president and the government to create the best possible conditions for the Assembly to continue its work normally.

Pjeter Agnolli said that the decision of the Shkoder Executive Committee to declare the martyrs of Shkoder to be martyrs of democracy was moderate and reasonable, and should give the people hope that the Shkoder culprits will be punished.

Panajot Barka stressed that public pressure should have been felt earlier, not only now when it has reached a critical point. Let us work toward making those decisions on which the legislative groups have worked in the last two days, he advised.

Deputy (?Emin) Musliu pointed out that all the deputies must be aware of their responsibility before the people. The main thing is to calm the people and how to carry Albania forward. The people are not preventing us from continuing the proceedings. [words indistinct] It would increase the Assembly's authority if the president came to join us to discuss our great worries together.

Many other deputies spoke in the same vein. The Assembly is now in recess and the second session is expected to begin. We now end our live report from the Assembly Hall, to report further in our 2200 news broadcast.

### Shkoder Victims Declared 'Martyrs of Democracy'

*AU3005164991 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1600 GMT 30 May 91*

[Text] An ATA correspondent reports that the Executive Committee of Shkoder District People's Council, at a meeting organized today, on 30 May 1991, decided to declare Arben Beqir Broci, Nazmi Tahir Kryeziu, Bujar Rexhep Bishanaku, and Besnik Nut Ceka, who fell in the events of Shkoder on 2 April, martyrs of democracy. At the same meeting, the Executive Committee repeated its demand for a conclusion of the investigation to identify the culprits.

### Radio-Television Union Strikes for Second Day

*AU3005165091 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1600 GMT 30 May 91*

[Statement by the Directorate of Radio Tirana issued on 30 May; place not given]

[Text] The Independent Trade Union of the Radio-Television is on strike again today. There will be changes again to our program schedules.

### Greek Foreign Ministry Delegation Pays Visit

#### Meets Foreign Ministry Officials

*AU2905101491 Tirana ATA in English 0957 GMT 29 May 91*

[Text] Tirana, May 29 (ATA)—Talks were held on May 28 between the delegation of the Foreign Affairs Ministry of Greece, led by E. Megalokonomou and the delegation of the Foreign Affairs Ministry of Albania led by Bashkim Dino, head of department in the Foreign Ministry.

During the talks, which were held in a friendly and constructive spirit, opinions were exchanged for the further development of relations between the two countries, especially in the field of economic, technical-scientific, cultural cooperation, etc.

They talked also on other questions, such as that of Albanian refugees in Greece.

#### Meets Foreign Minister Kapllani

*AU3005131091 Tirana ATA in English 1022 GMT 30 May 91*

[Text] Tirana, May 30 (ATA)—The minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Albania, Muhamet Kapllani, received on May 29 the delegation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Greece, headed by the vice-secretary general E. Megalokonomou. The meeting passed in a friendly atmosphere.

Assessing the visit of the delegation, the Albanian Foreign Minister laid the emphasis on the further deepening of the political dialogue as premise for the promotion of the stable relations between our two countries. He spoke of the all-round political, economic, social reforms etc., initiated in our country which create new possibilities for our bilateral relations, to give them an impulse and extend the fields of cooperation.

Further on Muhamet Kapllani dwelt on the positive processes taking place in Europe, where the old equilibriums are upset and new ones are being created, and where the complexity of events demands a major political realism. This is especially necessary in our region, where despite the positive processes one observes destabilising developments and where stability has its impact not only on the Balkan peninsula, but on Europe as well.

The vice-secretary general of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Of Greece, E. Megalokonomu considered the visit of the delegation in Albania as positive and fruitful and voiced the readiness of the Greek Government for the promotion of all-round relations with Albania. He pointed out that the Greek Government gives special importance to the Albanian-Greek relations on the bilateral plane and the Balkan one as well.

### Popov: Price Shock Increase Rumors Unfounded

*AU3105073591 Sofia BTA in English 2121 GMT 30 May 91*

[Text] Sofia, May 30 (BTA)—Prime Minister Dimitur Popov said that the rumors about an incredible shock after the new liberalization of prices as of June 1 are unfounded.

The envisaged rise in the prices of fuel, crude oil and energy sources is inevitable, he explained in a televised interview this evening. The price of petrol set at four leva when prices were liberalized for the first time in February was calculated on the basis of the exchange rate of the leva against the dollar at that time which was seven or eight leva to a dollar. Meanwhile the exchange rate reached 30 leva, then dropped to its present level of 18 leva. The real price of crude and petrol is quite different now. Only from the difference between the market price of petrol and the actual one by the end of May the state had suffered a loss of 2.5 billion leva.

The state has no longer means for subsidies and the only way out is to bring the price of this fuel in line with its actual level.

In Mr. Popov's opinion, this rise in prices will not affect much the prices of other goods.

The prime minister said that the matter should be discussed in the Tripartite Commission for the Protection of Interests with the Council of Ministers. At the moment experts of the two trade unions, of the Unions of Employers and of the government are working on the problem. Different versions are being considered to establish to what extent the rise of petrol prices affect transport fares, thus having an effect on all other goods. He reminded that the government controls 14 groups of commodities, the change in the prices of which might cause serious problems to the population. It is prognosticated that the rise in the price of meat will be from two to four leva depending on the type and quality, bread price increase is expected to be about 0.50 leva. The sky-rocketing price increases that rumors mention is absolutely impossible, Prime Minister Dimitur Popov said.

He gave assurances that the government is taking care of the people. Whatever the prices, the government will find a way to compensate them respectively. The idea is to compensate them to the full measure of the price rise, he said.

### Trade Union: Price Hike Increases Social Tension

*AU3105072991 Sofia BTA in English 2112 GMT 30 May 91*

[Text] Sofia, May 30 (BTA)—The Executive Committee of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria (CITUB) came out with an address to the government in connection with the expected rise in the prices of petrol, petrochemical products, electric power and fuel which created a real panic in the last days.

There has been a run on all sorts of foodstuffs and other goods in the shops all over the country, the situation is strained, tensions being fanned up by deliberately spread rumors about sky-rocketing prices.

The CITUB Executive Committee considers that the culprits for the created tension are those organizations and groupings which expect to achieve their own political ends by the total destabilization of the country.

The government is also responsible for the growing tension and chaos, the CITUB Executive Committee points out in its address. Apparently the government has not drawn a lesson from the practices used by the former governments in approaching price reforms, it should precisely state its intentions in public first, it is said in the address.

The CITUB Executive Committee considers that it is the primary duty of the president and the major political forces represented in parliament to express categorically their position on the threat posed to social peace.

### Former King Simeon II Interested in Visiting

*AU3105093591 Sofia BTA in English 0859 GMT 31 May 91*

[Text] Sofia, May 31 (BTA)—Simeon Saxe-Coburg-Gotha has approached the Bulgarian authorities about a visit to this country he wants to pay shortly in connection with the referendum on the future form of state government.

The Bulgarian News Agency learned about it from a reliable source.

### King Simeon To Be Issued Passport

*AU3105105091 Sofia BTA in English 1037 GMT 31 May 91*

[Text] Sofia, May 31 (BTA)—Simeon Saxe-Coburg-Gotha wants to have a Bulgarian passport issued, Mr. Viktor Vulkov, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, has just told BTA.

According to Mr. Vulkov, Simeon Saxe-Coburg-Gotha has not been deprived of Bulgarian citizenship and has legal grounds for his demand. His passport will be issued by procedures provided by the law.

However, the Foreign Ministry has no information about Simeon's wish to visit this country, Mr. Vulkov added.

## Popov Denies 'Secret Treaty' With USSR

*AU3005133591 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1218 GMT 30 May 91*

[Speech by Prime Minister Dimitur Popov on his 17-18 May visit to the USSR, read at Grand National Assembly session—live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed ladies and gentlemen, Grand National Assembly members: On 17 and 18 May a governmental delegation of the Republic of Bulgaria led by myself visited the USSR. We held talks in Moscow with the USSR Government. I held personal talks with USSR President Gorbachev, and afterward we held a meeting and talks with representatives of the RSFSR Government, led by RSFSR Prime Minister Mr. Ivan Silayev.

It is my duty to inform you about those talks and their results. I must make this report also because of other considerations. Despite the fact that information was released about our two-day visit to Moscow, many sources are spreading information that puts our meetings and talks in a light that does not correspond to the truth.

Our talks were prompted by the necessity to try and reach an agreement with the USSR Government, which could serve as a foundation of updating, activating, and expanding first of all our economic relations.

At the end of 1990, the newly formed Bulgarian Government signed an agreement with the USSR, according to which during the current year we must export goods to the USSR to the tune of 3 billion [currency not specified], and import from the USSR goods, fuel, raw materials, and energy sources to the tune of 3.1 billion rubles. You know very well that the disintegration of CEMA .... [Popov answers an indistinct remark from the floor] Excuse me, I mean dollars. The disintegration of CEMA and the complications in the Arab markets after the Gulf crisis placed our economy in an especially difficult situation. Until the end of April our contacts devolved such that our trade exchange decreased five times. There was no positive prospect of implementing the agreement. If we were to leave things as they are and await some natural development, we were at the risk to produce even graver results already during the first part of the year. Therefore, our delegation included primarily economic ministers and representatives of the economic ministries, as well as economic experts. Simultaneously, I would like to say that already from the time of Mr. Lukanov's government the two countries are facing the issue of whether a treaty should be signed with the USSR, and what character this treaty must have to serve as the foundation of the two countries' relations.

In this context there is a story that must clearly be spelled out. In 1967 a Bulgarian-USSR Treaty on Mutual Relations, Assistance, and Cooperation for the period of 20 years was signed. The term of the treaty had expired, and according to its clauses it automatically was extended for five years. Consequently, this treaty will expire in August 1992.

The Bulgarian side prepared a draft of a new treaty, which was presented to the Soviet side. On the basis of this draft the Soviet side proposed its own draft to the Bulgarian side.

Until our departure for the USSR, and also now, the discussion of those drafts at the level of experts in various Bulgarian and Soviet Ministries continues. Subsequently, before our departure and during our stay in the USSR no side was ready to discuss the clauses of the draft treaty, and such discussions did not take place. During a meeting before the beginning of the official talks between our delegation and the USSR delegation, we agreed with Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov that we shall not touch upon the draft treaty and will not discuss its clauses, but will rather discuss the development of Bulgarian-USSR relations on the basis of the existing agreement and the necessity of updating it.

We agreed that the work on the drafts must continue at the expert level and that when the sides are ready the discussion of the clauses, as well as the final adoption of the treaty and the signing should take place. In other words, things should develop in their accustomed, natural, logical, and formal manner, as you well understand.

Consequently, the first thing I would like to say is that we did not reach an agreement on a treaty with the USSR. We have not signed a draft or a final text of such a treaty. No separate treaty that calls for a military alliance between Bulgaria and the USSR was discussed or signed. No protocol on secret clauses nor a secret treaty nor anything similar has been discussed or signed. [applause] I say this because there are speculations on this topic. Unfounded accusations have been addressed to me and the government, namely, that without being authorized we have done something that we did not have the right to do.

I would also like to say that both delegations expressed concern with the state of our economic relations. We agreed that the reasons for the stagnation and for the delay in implementing the 1990 agreement are not numerous. We also agreed that we quickly must undertake active measures to ensure the implementation of the agreement. [passage omitted]

I would like to point out that the position according to which mutual payments between the two countries must be done in freely convertible currency was the main reason of the stagnation and the delay in implementing the agreement with the USSR. This position was rigidly adhered to by the USSR. You know that neither Bulgaria nor the USSR have such freely convertible currency that could be used in the mutual payments. Both sides were satisfied with the fact that the Soviet side relinquished this position a few days before our arrival, and during the talks we reached an agreement on a new manner of payments. This will be the so-called foreign currency

clearing—i.e., goods in exchange of goods, their value being calculated on the basis of the world market prices in dollars. [passage omitted]

An agreement was reached that by the end of May 1991 the two countries will appoint experts, including deputy ministers, who will update the agreement, so an accelerated implementation of the agreement could begin. In addition a new list of goods worth more than $1 billion will be prepared by Bulgaria.

I would like to say that immediately after our arrival Bulgarian-USSR economic relations were significantly activated. The real implementation of the agreement began. On the basis of the report I received before I came here, as of today, the implementation of the agreement is taking place along the following lines: We have exported to the USSR goods to the tune of $224 million. Those goods have been paid for. At the same time we received goods to the tune of $320 million. A significant part of this trade exchange took place in May. I think that this is our best achievement in the talks we had in Moscow.

I would also like to inform you that toward the end of the conclusion of the official talks, I had a meeting with Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev, which was attended by USSR Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov. Mr. Gorbachev said to Mr. Pavlov that the implementation of the agreement should begin as soon as possible and as thoroughly as possible in the interests of both sides. [passage omitted]

I read in some newspapers that during the talks an attempt was made to revive the Brezhnev doctrine on the so-called limited sovereignty of the countries that have signed agreements with USSR. Ladies and Gentlemen, this claim is not true. Not a word was said, exchanged, or discussed on this matter. [passage omitted] We also reached an agreement on supply of equipment and materials for the construction on the USSR-Bulgaria-Greece gas pipeline. We assumed the responsibility for conducting talks on this matter at the end of May and the beginning of June. In this context a deputy minister of the relevant USSR ministry arrived in Bulgaria. I would like to say that our participation in the construction of this pipeline is extremely beneficial for Bulgaria in anything related to the supply of equipment, participation of workers, and other possibilities revealed by the construction of this gas pipeline through our territory. [passage omitted]

I would like to say that without having mentioned this topic in our preliminary plan of the talks, we touched upon the issue of the possibility for the Bulgarian side of establishing contact, mainly in the sphere of education and culture, with the Bulgarian population in the USSR, i.e., USSR citizens of Bulgarian origin. As you know, in the Ukraine alone there are about 360,000 Bulgarians. Many others live in Moldova and Bessarabia. Their precise number is unknown, but according to the Soviet comrades, excuse me, gentlemen, their number exceeds 500,000. Until now the cultural contact with this population was either nonexistent or sporadic and very limited. We asked to obtain the possibility to establish permanent contact and develop relations between Bulgaria's cultural and state institutions with this population, to attract it to our culture and national cause. I would like to inform you that an agreement was reached on this issue and the government will prepare an accord on this matter that could be implemented. We were assured that the USSR Government as well as the republican governments will not only create any difficulties in implementing this policy, but will contribute to its implementation.

Thus we reached agreements on the various matters discussed in Moscow. The agreements are included in a memorandum in Russian and Bulgaria, which I brought with me and conveyed to the Council of Ministers. I handed a copy of the memorandum to the leadership of the Grand National Assembly as a document related to the topics of our talks in Moscow and on the positions of both sides. Thus whoever doubts my report could be assured of the total sincerity of my words. I again would like to point out that there were no other talks with the Soviet Government or its representatives, except the talks I reported here.

We utilized our visit to conduct a meeting with the RSFSR Government. I must say that we were interested in the meeting primarily because 85 percent of our economic relations with the USSR are related to the RSFSR. For us it was very important to understand the position of the RSFSR Government toward the implementation of those agreements. The meeting took place at the residence of the RSFSR Government. The RSFSR delegation was led by RSFSR Prime Minister Silayev. [passage omitted]

Finally, at the meeting with Mr. Gorbachev, I conveyed a message from Mr. Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the Republic. The message was accepted with satisfaction. Mr. Gorbachev conveyed his greetings and good wishes.

Ladies and gentlemen, this was my report. If there are any questions related to our visit and the talks I would be glad to answer them.

## Federal Intelligence Service Law Passed

*LD3005095491 Prague CTK in English 1620 GMT 29 May 91*

[Text] Prague May 29 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Federal Assembly approved today a law on the Federal Security and Information Service (FIS) that will put the agency under the control of parliament.

The new law, taking effect on July 1, establishes the FIS as the Federal intelligence agency, responsible for domestic order, state security and the defence of the Constitution.

The aim of the service is to obtain, collect and evaluate information important for the defence of the Constitution and the state's economic interests, as well as information on the activities of foreign intelligence agencies, on terrorist actions involving foreign nationals, and on activities that threaten state security. The agency will abide by constitutional law and all other generally applicable legal regulations.

The FIS is authorised to use various means in performing its duties, including agents—both open and undercover, surveillance and intelligence technology. This technology may be used for identifying, opening and examining mail, as well as wire-tapping and recording telephone conversations, and acquiring photographic and audio records.

These methods may be employed only with prior written authorisation from the appropriate prosecutor, and may not violate the privacy of homes, letters and packages any more than is absolutely necessary.

All data gathered on individuals in FIS files will be destroyed once the case is closed. This was a particularly sensitive point in the law, as much of the recent debate on the screening of parliamentarians for past collaboration with the communist secret police centred on the fact that some of the deputies named as collaborators were unaware that files had been kept on them.

The FIS director will be appointed by the president based on nominations from the Federal cabinet. The president may also recall the FIS director at the proposal of either the Federal cabinet or the parliament.

After debate on whether the FIS director should be supervised by the government or the parliament, it was decided that both the office and the agency would answer to the Federal Assembly through a supervisory body composed of deputies and private citizens.

## Rychetsky on Planned Law on Screenings

*AU3005123091 Prague CESKE A MORAVSKOSLEZSKE ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 25 May 91 p 2*

[Interview with Deputy Prime Minister Pavel Rychetsky by Katerina Sladkova in Prague on 24 May: "Screenings According to Law"]

[Text] Immediately after the presentation of the CSFR Government's position on screenings [by Prime Minister Calfa in the Federal Assembly on 24 May], we asked CSFR Deputy Prime Minister Pavel Rychetsky to explain to us the nature of the law, the approval of which is being prepared in this connection.

[Rychetsky] The government's premise is that the principal mission of executive power regarding the former State Security corps [StB] and the treatment of information obtained by the StB is to prevent these structures, and the network of StB agents, from renewing their activity. We believe that our approach will have to be analogous with the approach adopted in the FRG. That means that the files of the former StB should be exclusively at the disposal of the bodies of the newly constituted Ministry of Interior—or, once the relevant legislation is passed, the Federal security service—which should assess them and secure them against being ever misused. The law on this issue must, first and foremost, be in harmony with the Bill of Human Rights and Liberties and ensure a certain degree of protection of all citizens of this country against the publication of data of this kind. At the same time, however, the law must make it impossible for persons who failed in the past by collaborating with the totalitarian regime and using unlawful methods to hold such public offices in which they could be misused.

In other words, only a person with a clean moral record should have access to state service and constitutional offices. At the same time, however, the law must set out procedural and material-legal conditions ensuring protection against its misuse. I do not expect the law to enshrine the principle of retroactive validity, so that citizens whose names have been published already and who feel damaged thereby will be able to defend themselves only by means of norms that are valid today.

[Sladkova] What action will the government take with respect to its employees who have been identified as StB collaborators?

[Rychetsky] Most of them no longer hold their [former] positions. Under an agreement with the [legislative] commission investigating the events of 17 November [1989], the deadline for a final solution is 30 June 1991. However, the government by no means intends to emulate the Federal Assembly's course of action and will not make any names public after that date. It will, however, make use of all available legal means to ensure the cleansing of the government office.

## Federal Assembly Rejects Screening Resolution

*LD3005142391 Prague CTK in English 1254 GMT 30 May 91*

[Text] Prague May 30 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak parliament did not approve today a draft resolution on the screening for possible past collaboration with the secret police (StB).

The main contentious point was the parliamentary screening commission's request for the government to publish a complete list of names of all StB collaborators.

"I ignored the voting because the parliament voted on something which the rapporteurs themselves were unable to formulate", Jiri Soukup, deputy to the House of the People for the Civic Forum-Civic Movement (OF-OH), told CTK.

The parliament approved an additional cost of living adjustment (which was formerly 140 crowns per month) to soften the impact of the rise in fuel and energy prices on socially weak strata. Pensioners and children will thus receive 80 crowns more, i.e. 220 crowns monthly.

The deputies also approved a law on the second increase of pensions as of June 30, 1991. Old age and disability pensions will grow by 110 crowns, widow's pensions by 66 crowns per month.

## Czech Government Approves Sale of Enterprises

*LD3005021691 Prague CTK in English 1834 GMT 29 May 91*

[Text] Prague May 29 (CTK)—The privatisation of large enterprises has begun in the Czech republic today, Czech Minister for the Administration of National Property and its Privatisation Tomas Jezek told journalists after a government session.

According to a blueprint approved by the Czech government, final projects for the first round of this privatisation must be submitted to the Ministry by November 30, 1991 and for the second round by May 31, 1992, Jezek said. The sale will follow.

The Czech government passed the specifics of the privatisation plan, which is based on Federal legislation. Details of the privatisation are left to each of the two constituent republics of Czechoslovakia to decide. About 30 per cent of industry is in state hands.

Jezek presented the timetable approved by the government today as follows: Within a month the government must receive a list of enterprises selected for privatisation. A list of those which will not be sold for at least five years will be compiled by June 23. By August 31 the prices will be set and the shares selected for privatisation by the coupon method specified. This method is not to be used until February 1992. (Under Federal legislation, all adult Czechoslovak citizens will be entitled to coupons of equal value which will authorise them to obtain shares in enterprises being privatised.)

By October 31, enterprises must submit the complete plans for the intended methods and forms of privatisation, all on a case-by-case basis, to organisations which founded them and within another month those for first-round sale are to be presented to the privatisation ministry. About 1,000 enterprises come up for first-round privatisation in the Czech republic.

Part of the property will be sold by standard methods, such as auctions, to both domestic and foreign buyers, Jezek said. Another form will be restitutions in compensation of property confiscated by the communist regime in 1948-90. The property will be sold with debts and other obligations.

"Small" privatisation, i.e. the sale of shops, workshops, restaurants and other businesses is already under way in Czechoslovakia. There is no legal definition of what comes under "small" and what under "major" privatisation.

## Pithart on Closed-Door Czech Assembly Session

*AU3005120491 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 25 May p 3*

[Interview with Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart by a "WA"-signed NARODNA OBRODA reporter; place and date not given: "On the 'Mobilization Plan'"]

[Text] [NARODNA OBRODA] About a month ago you said in an interview for LIDOVE NOVINY that the Czech government will "matter-of-factly, without sentimentality, without reproaches, and without recriminations prepare for the division of the state, should it take place." This week on 22 May the Czech National Council held a debate on the Czech government's so-called catastrophic scenario. The session was held behind closed doors, without journalists, which gave rise to a number of conjectures. What specifically does the scenario contain?

[Pithart] I do not like the term "catastrophic scenario." What is involved is a package of necessary measures which the Czech republic government would have to take in the event of the Federation's breakup. In no case is it formulated as a political argument. The government has not published it, it has successfully resisted questions from journalists, and it has submitted it to the Czech National Council only upon its explicit request. It was the Czech National Council itself that decided that the debate on this material would be held behind closed doors. This package of measures might be compared to a mobilization plan. Every government must have such a plan, even if it does not wish to go to war.

The measures concern individual areas of economic life: banking, monetary policy and foreign exchange economy, state finances, prices and customs, external economic relations and mutual trade, labor-related legal relations and employment policy, material and energy supplies, and transportation. They do not concern those areas that currently fall under the jurisdiction of the Federation. The package of measures does not contain speculations about the future, upon which MLADA FRONTA DNES ventured in an article on 21 May. Likewise, it does not contain any assessments (such as who would be better off after the division of the state and the like) and does not take any stand on the positions of individual national representations.

## Slovak Prime Minister Holds News Conference

*LD3005142791 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 29 May 91*

[Alena Millerova report on news conference by Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky with domestic and foreign reporters at the Foreign Ministry in Prague on 29 May—Carnogursky's remarks recorded in Slovak]

[Text] Although the topics covered by the news briefing were broad, many of the journalists' questions were of course on relations between Czechs and Slovaks and the future of the common state. Let us hear first of all the reply of the Slovak prime minister when asked about his perception of the current political situation in Slovakia.

[Carnogursky] I believe that the present Slovak government has done much to stabilize the political situation in Slovakia and is also able to show its results. Of course, I do not ascribe this solely to the efforts of the government. If you compare the situation which existed when it took office at the time of Slovak government reshuffle with the situation in the followed days and weeks, and with the situation which still exists, then there is no doubt that the situation in Slovakia is much calmer and has been, in my view, politically stabilized. Even the repeated voting in the Slovak National Council on the reshuffle of its Presidium, for example, demonstrated that the government has a majority in the Slovak National Council. The comparison of this voting with the political programs and statements of other legislative parties outside the coalition show that there is no possibility of a government in Slovakia other than that which is in power.

[Millerova] Now, about the relations between Czechs and Slovaks. As far as the Federation is concerned, this is what Jan Carnogursky thinks of its future:

[Carnogursky] I have always said, and I say it now, too, that Slovakia wants to remain in Czechoslovakia, but if Czechoslovakia becomes part of a European integration—most probably of the European Communities—then in this European integration grouping Slovakia wants to act as an independent subject. What I want to add now is that if it did not act in this way, it would lose, in historical pespective, its national identity and would simply cease to exist in Europe. The coexistence of Czechs and Slovaks in the Czechoslovak Republic is not just a matter for Czechs and Slovaks, or in other words, a matter for the Slovak or Czech republic only.

If we compare the scenario drawn up last week by the Czech government in the event of a split of the republic, and even if we compare this with some pronouncements made by Czech political representatives, for example those concerning requirements that some powers should be returned to the federal level, then a situation could come about that the Slovak government would simply be forced to form a team in the event that the split of the state materialized, a team which was already set up by the Czech government. These are, indeed, only speculations, and precisely because they are speculations, the Slovak government does not wish to give the slightest impetus to them. On the other hand, at the moment I do not regard the situation as being so dramatic. This is why the Slovak government has not formed such a team, as the Czech government has.

[Millerova] The issues on which the Slovak government wants more independence were also discussed. Jan Carnogursky said:

[Carnogursky] There are already 5 percent unemployed in Slovakia, while in the Czech republic there are considerably fewer. Many economic indicators are worse in Slovakia than in the Czech republic. If we add to this the experience from the First Republic [the period between World War I and World War II], when unemployment in Slovakia was also much higher than in Bohemia, a factor which even resulted in emigration, Slovakia simply wants to tackle its economic problems by making its own decisions. It seems to me that the argument to the effect that it will be better to concentrate on the federal level is not convincing for me, because what is better...[Carnogursky changes thought] I believe that until now we have always reached an agreement—as far as the Federal and Slovak governments are concerned—on rational solutions, and I am convinced that we will be able to go on reaching agreements in the future, too. The discussions about differences in economic reform between Slovakia and Bohemia are being dramatized because Slovakia is too small to be able to go for a principally different economic policy, or even perhaps be able to carry out economic reform, or to carry it out in a fundamentally different way.

[Millerova] The talks on national constitutions and the constitution of the Federation are important for the future of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. The next meeting on this is expected to take place 31 May. What does Prime Minister Carnogursky expect from this meeting?

[Carnogursky] Friday's meeting in the Budmerice will be a continuation of the meetings under the patronage of the president of the Republic. These meetings are to promote the process of political agreements as a basis of the future constitution. They are to move this process forward. I hope they will. There is a certain difference compared with previous meetings: All the political parties, including the opposition parties, are invited to take part in this meeting. As a result, it can be expected that the variety of views will be greater on the topic of discussion than hitherto. On the other hand, it is inevitable, because for the endorsement of the constitution in the National Councils and also in the Federal Assembly, a three-fifths majority is necessary, which the government coalition on its own does not have.

According to the latest talks at Lany and also according to orientation contacts with the representatives of individual parties in the Slovak republic and also in the Czech republic, I believe that in Budmerice it will be the content rather than the form of the agreement that will be discussed. In this

connection it will be mainly the division of jurisdictions between the Federation and the republics which will be discussed, and when a consensus is reached about the content of the agreement, we should return to the form of the agreement. If we agree on the content, then obviously we will agree about the form as well.

[Millerova] So much, in brief, on the news conference which, as an answer to one question has shown, was not the only reason for the visit by Jan Carnogursky to Prague. He said that on his two-day agenda he also has a meeting with Czechoslovak People's Party Chairman Josef Lux.

### Soviet Troop Withdrawal Ahead of Schedule

*LD3105101391 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0900 GMT 31 May 91*

[Text] The Soviet Union will complete the withdrawal of its troops from Hungary before the deadline set for the end of next month.

This has been announced in Moscow by Major General Zhurbenko. The major general disclosed that there are now only 1,500 Soviet soldiers and five pieces of military-technical equipment in Hungary.

### Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Chairman Pays Visit

*LD3005173691 Budapest MTI in English 1430 GMT 30 May 91*

[Text] Budapest, May 30 (MTI)—Leonid Kravchuk, president of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine, arrived in Hungary on a three-day official visit on Thursday afternoon. The Ukrainian head of state was invited by Arpad Goncz, president of the Republic. Kravchuk's entourage includes Viktor Antonov, minister of state for the military industry and transformation affairs, Anatoliy Zlenko, minister of foreign affairs, and Dmitriy Pavlichko, chairman of the foreign affairs committee of the Supreme Soviet. At Budapest's Ferihegy airport, Leonid Kravchuk was welcomed with the military honours befitting a head of state. Later on, Goncz and Kravchuk started their talks in parliament building.

#### Makes Statement Upon Arrival

*LD3005174191 Budapest MTI in English 1525 GMT 30 May 91*

[Text] Budapest, May 30 (MTI)—After his arrival in Budapest's Ferihegy Airport, the Ukrainian head of state made a brief press statement. Leonid Kravchuk said he was looking forward to his visit in the course of which a number of important documents would be signed. The Ukrainian head of state made special mention of the declaration on the basic principles of Ukrainian-Hungarian relations, the consular agreement, arrangements on a number of humanitarian issues, and the agreement on foreign trade.

The Hungarian side raised the idea of concluding an agreement on the situation of the national minorities. On this score, Leonid Kravchuk emphasized that the Ukraine would endeavour to push for greater minority rights and make every possible effort to make Hungarians living there feel that the Ukraine is their motherland. Kravchuk said that the Hungarians, like all the other nationalities in the Ukraine, were granted equal rights. The Ukraine makes no distinction on the basis of nationality, it seeks to guarantee equal rights to all people, to all citizens of the Ukraine and the Soviet Union.

### Minister Kadar Meets With PRC Counterpart

*LD3105062491 Budapest MTI in English 1909 GMT 30 May 91*

[Text] Budapest, May 30 (MTI)—"The switch from clearing accounting to accounting in free currencies has caused a decline in Hungarian-Chinese trade, though an improvement in relations can be expected in the long-term," it was reported at the joint press conference of Bela Kadar, Hungarian minister of international economic relations, and Li Lanching, Chinese minister of foreign economic relations and trade, held in Budapest on Thursday.

At the press conference following the talks, Kadar noted that the value of Hungarian-Chinese trade turnover in 1989 was 250 million Swiss francs, dropping to a mere 150 million in 1990. In the first four months of this year, Hungary exported goods worth 3 million dollars to China, and imported goods to the tune of 7 million dollars, although contracts were signed for 30 million dollars. The aim is to stop the further decline of reciprocal trade, Kadar said. The target is for the value of mutual deliveries to decline by at most 15-20 per cent as against the 1990 level.

The leaders of 17 Chinese companies arrived in Hungary with the delegation, and signed contracts worth 15 million dollars during their two days in Budapest.

The foreign trade ministers of both countries agreed that co- operation cannot be further developed in the traditional form: the future belongs to joint ventures. The Chinese side plans to set up 15 joint ventures.

### Financial Expert on Country's Economic Prospects

*AU3105090191 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 24 May 91 p 12*

[Interview with Ilona Mocsari, financial expert of the Trade Unions' Economic and Social Research Institute, by Peter Lovasz; place and date not given: "In An Economy Organized From Above, Politics Hinders Development—A State Apparatus That Encourages Inflation"—first paragraph is NEPSZAVA introduction]

[Excerpts] According to the statistics of the first quarter of 1991, our economy is in a better shape than in December 1990 and the beginning of January 1991. Based on this, optimistic opinions have emerged predicting improvement in the near future and in the long run, too. The question is, however, to what extent the evaluation of these statistics is genuine, and how long the favorable trends will last?

[Mocsari] These statistics are far from showing improvement. They only show that the situation is not so bad as we expected. We expected 37-percent inflation, and the current inflation is "only" 34.2 percent. This is not exactly cause for joy. In addition, living costs increased more than that because the aforementioned figure does not contain the increase in housing interests, the increasing taxes, and other expenses. [passage omitted]

[Lovasz] Does that mean that we should have serious reservations concerning these statistics?

[Mocsari] The economic cabinet is weighing two possibilities that depend on our Eastern trade, particularly that with the Soviet Union: If our Eastern trade only drops by 50 percent, our domestic product will "only" drop by 6 percent, compared with 1990. If our trade with the Soviet Union drops by one-third, our net domestic product will drop by 8-10 percent this year. Because we must pay considerable amounts for servicing our debts from an increasingly lower national production, it is certain that our domestic consumption will decrease considerably.

[Lovasz] Although not without some criticism, all the political parties regard our finance minister's economic and economic policy program as a good basis. What is your opinion about this?

[Mocsari] I also think that this program would be a good starting point leading to development, but I fear that political viewpoints will prevail to the detriment of the economic demands formulated in this program. The guarantees for the emergence of a competitive market organized from below have not yet emerged along with the change in the political power. On the contrary. There are still various monopolies that hinder the free movement in and out of various areas; we still witness a business attitude that harms the consumers; and the employers' power position is still too strong. [passage omitted]

[Lovasz] In your view, what are the prospects of slowing inflation down?

[Mocsari] The government lacks efficient anti-inflationary measures, and central over-expenditure does not reduce inflation either. The implementation of the compensation law will obviously lead to price increases too. [passage omitted]

[Lovasz] Could an accelerated privatization not help the Hungarian economy?

[Mocsari] Perhaps it could, but privatization can only be efficient if it is coupled with investment of capital, technical development, and restructuring. According to my estimates, we need investments of some 1,500 billion forints in the coming years in order to increase production to a level adequate to international demands. [passage omitted]

## Government Statement on Constitutional Court

*LD3105060891 Budapest MTI in English 1759 GMT 30 May 91*

[Text] Budapest, May 30 (MTI)—On Thursday government spokesman Balazs Laszlo forwarded the following statement of the government to MTI, in connection with the decision of the Constitutional Court on the compensation law:

"With its decision, the Constitutional Court has made it clear to everyone that the issue of compensation is unavoidable, and the compensation of the former proprietors is the constitutional obligation of the state. The Constitutional Court has thus also moved that all positions represented by the opposition parties proposing that compensation of the former proprietors be abandoned, or this be realised in the framework of some kind of general compensation of citizens, are unconstitutional.

"The Constitutional Court described the government's endeavour as constitutional, this being in tune with the country's load-bearing capacity, declaring that compensation take the shape of partial compensation according to the principles set down in the compensation law. This continues to imply a secure basis for the influx of foreign capital, and for free enterprises.

"The government noted with regret that, as far as the land issue was concerned, the constitutional court plumped for a solution that will slow down the settlement of the debated property issues, and thereby the privatization process, thus also considerably increasing the social costs of compensation.

"On the basis of all these, and in the interest of creating the complete system of conditions for a market economy, the government continues to encourage the soonest possible settlement of debated property matters by law. Within this, it attaches special importance to the soonest possible promulgation of the compensation law, with the decision of the constitutional court being taken into consideration, whilst safeguarding its original goals," runs the government statement.

## MDF Issues Statement on Court Decision

*LD3105055391 Budapest MTI in English 1038 GMT 30 May 91*

[Text] Budapest, May 30 (MTI)—During its session which ended late Wednesday night, the National Board of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) [MDF] reviewed the situation after the Constitutional Court's decision on the compensation law. As reported previously, the Constitutional Court ruled that the law runs counter to the Constitution on several points and, hence, it should be amended.

The HDF's board has noted with regret the decision of the Constitutional Court published on May 29, says the statement. The board considers it necessary to state that the repeatedly declared position of both the government and the coalition parties that democratic changes can only be carried out by constitutional means is essentially correct.

On the other hand, we should also be aware of the harmful nature of all developments which help keep alive the distorted and unviable property conditions created forcefully under the communist regime, or which delay the cause of compensation.

### Soviet Ambassador Summoned Over Gubenko 'Insults'

*LD3005164891 Warsaw PAP in English 1426 GMT 30 May 91*

[Text] Warsaw, May 30 —The Soviet ambassador to Poland was summoned to the Polish Foreign Ministry here today in connection with the speech by Soviet Culture Minister Nikolay Gubenko which insulted the Polish Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki Wednesday.

"The speech made by Gubenko at the CSCE symposium in Krakow included inadmissible phrases and assessments addressed to the Polish prime minister," the Polish Foreign Ministry said. While referring to Prime Minister Bielecki's address to the same symposium, Gubenko had said the prime minister "danced the chechotka on the grave of socialism with the lightness of a weightlifter," and added: "It seemed to me that I was at a pre-election rally rather than a symposium on cultural heritage."

### Prime Minister Bielecki on Steel Plant's Problems

*LD3005164991 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 2005 GMT 29 May 91*

[Report on speech by Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki to representatives of Katowice Steel Plant in Katowice on 30 May—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] As announced earlier, Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki visited the Katowice Steelplant today. Three of the five hours of his stay were devoted to talks with the management of the combine. Its difficult situation was discussed. Although the youngest metallurgical plant in Poland, the plant is equipped with obsolete technology, and its wages policy last year further contributed to its poor financial state.

The prime minister, accompanied by members of the government, was acquainted with proposals to restructure the steel plant. We cannot say much about the talks because they were held behind closed doors, but the prime minister told representatives of the workforce about the results of the talks during an hour-long meeting. The prime minister said, among other things:

[Bielecki] The financial situation of the plant has gradually worsened. On the other hand, the situation of its employees has improved. This produces a complete state of confusion for the workforce—how is it possible that things are not going well when our wages are getting better and we are being paid bonuses? I know of a factory which, at the last moment of its existence, when things were really bad, increased the wages by 50 percent. There are factories which increase wages so that at the point of going into liquidation they get the best compensation. This is economic irresponsibility, verging on sabotage.

Now, the new management is facing the following challenge: Forecasts show fundamental difficulties. The budget was expecting income from this combine, at the level of, let us say, 1 billion zlotys—the budget, not some anonymous structure or the minister of finance or the prime minister, but such budget sections as the health service, education, railwaymen who need to be subsidized, farmers who want subsidies—and we can say that, unfortunately, there will be no budget income from the combine. There will be no income this year, and the next year is very difficult to forecast. In a way, we are facing a typical Polish phenomenon—we have assets, a dozen or so billion invested—and this is not the first such enterprise, I could give a long list of such enterprises. Furthermore, these assets, invested here, should give some income to the proprietor—that is, the state. The question now arises: What kind of return should there be from the capital invested? That varies around the world depending on the type of industry. In some it is five percent, others, better branches produce 50-60 percent.

The Polish drama is that we invested the capital—here it was 15 billion—and the return is nil. Of course [words indistinct] a normal owner in a West European country would have shut this business down and stopped subsidizing it—I cannot make such a decision. This of course does not indicate a full acceptance of the status quo. The problem is therefore to deal with this enterprise, the whole industry, and try and achieve perhaps a small income, so that the results are positive. We can assist the director in this decision, to create a chance. We have analyzed several possible variants in the light of Polish law. These variants are not the best, they are difficult and complicated and full of red tape. That is why we have decided that the Council of Ministers will transform the combine into a company, (? wholly owned by the state treasury), which will then make it possible to separate some sections of this large company.

Of course, linked to this is a problem of seeking, by all means, ways of lowering costs; preparation of the program of restructuring; preparation of the concept for the functioning of the metallurgical industry in Poland, and the system of connections of this plant—which is a large-scale phenomenon [as heard] for the kind of production supplied by it, and links with other steel plants, so that the metallurgical industry can function as an entity.

If we were in the comfortable situation of having a normal economy, without military aspirations, we could reduce the metallurgy industry to an optimum size.

[Reporter] Quite unintentionally, somebody asked the prime minister how he appraises recent protests. Unintentionally, at the same time Jan Krzysztof Bielecki was talking with Katowice steel plant representatives, Upper Silesia region Solidarity board announced a strike alert. The prime minister said:

[Bielecki] The government is not interested in any form of conflict, because the government, as I see it, does not

act against society. Those times are over. That is why I think that when society organizes some general protest, one must go and make room for someone else, someone better. This does not mean, however, that we should give way to demands by some representatives of society, regardless of whether they are more or less credible. I simply cannot accept some things just to gain popularity or to win more votes, as this would simply be delaying the explosion of a bomb, if not today, then in six months. One can tinker with the economy in such a way, but this is useless. In this connection, we will begin telling each other clearly and resolutely what it is all about. If I invite someone to discuss important matters, and he does not have time, not only to come but even to phone to say that they have no time, it does not speak well about the organization of this institution [as heard]. There are not only wars, chants, and demonstrations, but also everyday work and good preparation of one's post. [sentence as heard]

When Minister Boni wanted to discuss certain issues, this met with limited understanding, not to speak of opposition. But the times are probably gone when we sit down and start thinking what we will negotiate about. There will be 30 people on your side and 30 on ours. This would mean that we go backwards 100 years, or even worse. We must solve concrete problems now, use more precise language, and not discuss everything and outshout one another. Well, do I need to come now, as was wrongly understood by the board of the region, for some kind of negotiations on metallurgy, and then we chat for two hours and decide what metallurgy in Poland is to look like? This is a process that requires honest information about all enterprises in this branch, and also some vision and knowledge of outside conditions, and then we can consider the issue. Besides, this is a discussion for experts, not for one group against another, as this would bring only political effect and show how hard we can hit the authorities again. I repeat, I will do nothing by force, but I will defend my arguments very forcibly. These are principles for cooperation.

[Reporter] At the meeting in the Katowice steel plant, he told the representatives that the enterprise will not be closed down, will not become property of foreign capital, and that the government will consider next week a motion for transforming Katowice steel plant into a single-owner company of the state treasury.

## Prime Minister Chairs Regular Cabinet Meeting

*AU2905194491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1851 GMT 29 May 91*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/5/1991—The routine weekly meeting of Romania's Government, presided over by Prime Minister Petre Roman, took place on May 29.

Constantin Fota, minister of commerce and tourism, presented an account in the meeting on the foreign trade activity conducted over January 1/April 30, 1991. The account shows that the total export over the period amounted to 489.8 million rubles and 896.8 million dollars, while import was worth 460.5 million rubles and 1,654.4 million dollars, with very big drops over the same period of the year before, except for the free currency export that recorded a two per cent rise. As for import, it was mentioned that the main share is held by the raw materials for industrial production and the consumer goods. It was shown that in the absence of foreign currency resources, a number of payments for imports were delayed.

Upon Premier Roman's initiative, it was decided that a cabinet meeting analyze the soonest Romania's strategy in foreign trade.

The cabinet members then examined a number of bills that are to be advanced to the Parliament.

Also, government resolutions were endorses regarding Romania's commercial exchanges with the USSR, Brazil, Chile, Mongolia and Malaysia. The setting up of the "Presa Nationala" ["National Press"] commercial company was endorsed through the reorganization of the "Presa Libera" ["Free Press"] publishers and the audiovisual tax was instituted to replace the radio-TV licence taxes.

## Foreign Ministry Spokesman Holds News Conference

*AU3005200791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1750 GMT 30 May 91*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 30/5/1991—By joining the Nuclear Exporters' Committee Romania became the 23rd member of that organization, which is also called "The Zangger" Committee, Ambassador Traian Chebeleu, spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, informed during his press conference, showing that Romania was the first country to be admitted to that organization after its creation. All the procedures for making Romania's admittance to the Nuclear Exporters' Committee official were fulfilled in the sense that notes were exchanged between Romania and each member state and that the Executive Board of the International Atomic Energy Agency was notified of Romania's admittance to that committee, the Foreign Ministry spokesman also said.

Mr. Traian Chebeleu said that Romania's admittance as a member of the "Zangger Committee" reflected the non-proliferation policy it promotes, its credibility among partner countries and the way in which the Romanian Government works for the fulfilment of its international commitments so as to contribute to the non-proliferation of nuclear arms and of the other means of mass destruction.

The Romanian Government, willing to meet an initiative of the Latin-American ambassadors to Romania to open a South-America's House in Bucharest, decided to make a building available for the purpose, said the Foreign Ministry's spokesman Traian Chebeleu at his weekly press conference.

The initiative was inspired by the culture and civilisation affinities between the Romanian and the South-American peoples, all deriving from a common Latin stock and having similar aspirations.

South America's House, which has secured the Romanian Government's encouragement and support, proposes actions meant to promote Latin-American culture and history in Romania and Romanian spiritual values in South-America, apt to strengthen the ties between Romania and these countries.

Ambassador Traian Chebeleu, the spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, told the reporters attending the weekly press conference, in answer to a question on Romania's participation in the 12-14 June meeting to be held in Prague, called by Presidents Francois Mitterrand and Vaclav Havel, for debating the French plan on the creation of an European confederation, that the invitations have been sent by the French and Czechoslovak Governments and the list of the persons invited has been drawn up by the organisers. Ambassador Traian Chebeleu added that, according to the information available at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, six personalities have been invited from Romania, namely Mihai Sora, Ion Caramitru, Mariana Celac, Bishop Laszlo Tokes, Smaranda Enache and the rector of Bucharest's Polytechnical Institute N. Constantinescu.

In relation to the passing in Romania's Parliament of a bill on withdrawal of Romania's reservations to the Geneva protocol of 1925 for the prohibition of the use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases, and of bacteriological methods of warfare, Ambassador Chebeleu, Foreign Ministry spokesman, showed, at the weekly news briefing, that Romania's decision is in perfect agreement with the steps its has taken for the past 18 months, and he quoted to this effect:

The official statement of the Romanian Government that Romania neither possesses nor will it produce chemical weapons; or acquire them by any other means; Romania's commitment, as a party to the Geneva Conference on Disarmament, to act for the conclusion, as soon as possible, of the convention for the banning and destruction of chemical weapons and to become a party to it; Romania's commitment to contribute, by adopting

appropriate nation-wide measures and regulations, in cooperation with other states engaged on a similar course, to the non-proliferation of chemical warfare and other means of mass destruction and of their means of delivery.

To make Parliament's decision effective, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will take the necessary steps to ratify the withdrawal of its reserves with the French Government as depositary of the protocol of Geneva.

## Report on Dialogue During Roman's Factory Visit

*AU3105082291 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 23 May 91 p 5*

[Constantin Vranceanu report on Prime Minister Roman's 16 May Bucharest factory visit "Dialogue at the 'Faur' Enterprise—Demagogy and Cynicism"]

[Text] I admit that I was not present to see what happened during Prime Minister Roman's visit to the "Faur" Enterprise. I do not know if he was assaulted or jostled, I do not know whether the windshield of his car was smashed, whether they shouted at him "Take a tram," or whether women seemed to be most violent. I admit that I do not exactly know how the prime minister entered the building, who was accompanying him, or how his "guys" were protecting him. I learned about the dialogue between Prime Minister and the enterprise's workers. This is not my merit but the merit of the Romanian Television. During the program "7 x 7" broadcast on Saturday, 18 May, aspects from Mr. Roman's visit to the "Faur" enterprise were presented, images that the previous night's "Current Events" television news program failed to present. One thing is certain: I saw a dialogue full of significance between Prime Minister Roman and a worker (I apologize for not remembering his name, but I assure him of all my respect). I want to draw the reader's attention to the fact that everything that I am going to report is from memory! The worker asked: Mr. Prime Minister, we do not have raw material, we want to work, no one can say that we do not want to work, but the truth is that we do not have working conditions, we lack contracts. How can you help us? The prime minister answered: Do you think that we can solve in a period of one and a half years what others destroyed in 25 years? Do you not understand that we received a difficult heritage from the dictator? (I wonder where I heard this before? Who used to say in all his speeches that our people must suffer because of the difficult heritage left behind by the bourgeois-landlord regime?). The worker asked: But what are you doing for us workers? The prime minister answered: I want to remind you that the Ceausescu regime could survive through fear and activists. Well, now the fear disappeared (is our prime minister convinced that fear has disappeared? It would be sad if he believed it because it would mean that he does not understand anything of what happened after the revolution...) Do you want to know how many activists were in our country? The worker did not ask, the prime minister did not answer. Although we would have been extremely curious to find out from a National Salvation Front authorized source how many Romanian Communist Party activists we had and how many remained. But... The worker asked: Mr. Prime Minister, do you believe that one can live on 6,100 lei, a sum that includes the salary and, as you call it, the social protection, the compensation? I want to tell you that having to raise our children, with the liberalized prices, we can starve... The prime minister answered: You have a salary of 6,100 lei, well, I have 18,000 lei. That is three times more. Just think about the fact that before the revolution, the maximum salary was six times bigger than the minimum salary. Now as you see, the difference has been reduced. Do you think that I have other advantages? In addition, just think about how big and definitive [definitiva] responsibilities I have toward the country (I wonder what the prime minister meant by definitive?). Does the prime minister know that thanks to the Parliament, his salary is being substantially increased, so as even with taxes (taxes that are increasing in the case of workers' salaries as well) the relation will remain at five to six times larger salary for the prime minister, that is just like before? I would have liked not to be reminded of the prime minister's cynicism when he talks about advantages. Is is just the salary Mister Prime Minister? At the beginning of these lines I was saying that I do not know much about Mr. Petre Roman's visit to the "Faur" enterprise. But here is Romanian Television offering me the opportunity to comment on a dialogue (which could be the dialogue between deaf people) between the prime minister and a worker. As far as the chants of "Liars!" voiced by hundreds of people when Mr. Petre Roman was leaving the "Faur" enterprise is concerned, I will let you draw your own conclusions.

## Minister Dijmarescu Notes Economic Difficulties

*AU3005140691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1102 GMT 30 May 91*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 30/5/1991—Two crisis phenomena occur in Romania, Eugen Dijmarescu, minister of state, economy and finance minister, appreciates. He remarks in an interview with daily "DIMINEATA" that changes in Romanian economy "happen at a most unfavourable moment." First, the modification in the system of payments between former CMEA countries, which cost Romania over 1.3 billion dollars over the 1st quarter of 1991. Thus, while trade exchanges maintained themselves almost at the same level as before with countries with which payments have always been made in hard currency, trade with former CMEA members has shrunk by nearly 800 million dollars.

Furthermore, late last year and early this year, Romania no longer could, due to the Gulf crisis, get oil on account of Iraqi debts. "For 4 months after the war broke out in the area we were forced to purchase oil not only in hard currency, but at higher prices. Therefore, the Romanian economy has been doubly affected," Mr. Dijmarescu says.

Speaking about the possibilities to revive economy, the minister opines that "there are not 10 ways to get there and, since Romania has taken an irreversible step to a market economy, the strategy to that end should be a national cause."

### International Consumer Goods Fair Opens

*AU3005153891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1347 GMT 30 May 91*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 30/5/1991—The Bucharest International Consumer Goods Fair [TIBCO] opened its gates on Thursday morning. It was entered by more than 600 commercial companies and firms from Romania and another 25 countries and by six states with their own official pavilions. After eleven years TIBCO resumes its activity putting on display such important products in the people's lives as foodstuffs, cosmetics, ready-mades, textiles, footwear, glassware, toys, cars, construction materials, electrical household appliances, electro-technological products, computer technology, installations and equipment for the food industry, furniture and wood-working outfit, etc.

The official opening ceremony was attended by the minister of trade and tourism, Mr. Constantin Fota, and other members of the government, by senators and deputies, by members of the diplomatic corps and by Romanian and foreign journalists.

The importance of the event was highlighted in a statement Mr. Constantin Fota made to the press. He said the current edition of the fair was comparable to the most prestigious similar economic and commercial events in the world owing to a select representation of both foreign and Romanian companies. "Its standard is one of high quality," the Romanian minister said and added: "In my opinion businessmen willing to conclude contracts have come to Bucharest." He also said that a special bureau had opened within the fair to rapidly issue import-export licences so that more contracts may be concluded. "We will also conduct polls on the negotiation activity and contracts," Mr. Fota also said.

Referring to private companies he said there were numerous Romanian private companies whose products were high-quality ones. "We are glad to see the private sector asserting itself ever more strongly not only in home trade but also as far as exports are concerned. Their weight in the realization of Romanian exports is growing and is about to hit the 7-8 per cent mark, which is a reason for satisfaction. Personally, I am impressed with the organization of the fair and the quality of the products on display," the minister said in conclusion.

### Minister Nastase Meets Iran's Rafsanjani, Others

*AU2905164991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1406 GMT 29 May 91*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/5/1991—Mr. Adrian Nastase, minister of foreign affairs of Romania, who is paying a visit to Iran, was received by President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani. Their talks centered on the development of bilateral relations. The Iranian president expressed his wish to grant his full support in that respect and he also highlighted the importance of solid economic relations between the two countries. On behalf of President Ion Iliescu of Romania the Iranian president was invited to pay an official visit to Romania and the invitation was accepted with pleasure.

The Romanian minister also met Mr. Mehdi Mahdavi-Karrubi, speaker of the Majlis, with whom he exchanged information on the political and social developments in the two countries. The importance was stressed of establishing direct links between the two countries' parliaments and creating groups of friendship within them so that action might be taken for the growth of Romanian-Iranian relations.

Mr. Adrian Nastase also met Mr. Akbar Torkan, Iranian minister of defence and logistics, and attended an official luncheon given by the Iranian foreign minister, Mr. 'Ali Akbar Velayati.

The Romanian minister also visited the Institute of Political and International Studies in Tehran, where he delivered an exposition on the democratic processes in Romania after the December revolution.

At the end of his exposition, Mr. Nastase answered questions from the audience which covered varied subjects—from the concerns of the Romanian Parliament to the Romanian foreign policy strategy.

## Tudjman on Current Political Problems

*LD3005194491 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0922 GMT 30 May 91*

[Statement by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman to the Croatian Assembly in Zagreb—live]

[Excerpts] Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, honored deputies of the Croatian Assembly, esteemed guests, and [word indistinct].

Precisely a year ago we celebrated the victory of freedom, a peace-loving attitude, and democracy, over one-party communist dictatorship, the policy of violence, non-Croatianism, and even anti-Croatianism, the system based on single-mindedness and unrestrained rule of bureaucracy and political terror. The first session of the democratic Croatian Assembly, a year ago, was held in the atmosphere of enthusiasm and satisfaction of the Croatian Democratic Community [Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica—HDZ], which won an overwhelming majority at the first free elections, and all other parties that contributed to the victory of democracy in Croatia.

All of us who participated in that historical event, and I myself, are aware that on that day—after several long centuries of incomplete Croatian sovereignty, and after half a century of totalitarian darkness—this generation of the Croatian nation and its leading men, intellectuals, and politicians, and all ordinary men who fought actively for the freedom of Croatia, took upon their shoulders responsibility to implement policy that will be based on, and directed only by interests of the Croatian nation, that is, to take the Republic of Croatia to full sovereignty.

The new democratic, Croatian policy attempted, and substantially contributed to, the fall of unnatural and anti-Croatian ideas about reality, socialism, and Yugoslav orientation on the Croatian territory. We have built (?this) Croatian policy through a synthesis of all positive ideas and through elimination of all negative elements from previous Croatian policies from this and the previous century. The main and final objective of our policy has been, and will remain to be, the realization of the full sovereignty and independence of the Croatian state through democratic achievements and [words indistinct].

At the same time, we want to realize such a democratic transformation of the entire Croatian society so our revived homeland, the Republic of Croatia, can become an equal subject in the creation of a new community of the European nations, but, above all, a country of prosperity and happiness for all its citizens, so many of Croatia's sons and daughters from throughout the world—who were dispersed through historical misfortunese—can return to their democratic homeland.

The democratically elected government in Croatia came into power at the peak of the economic and state-political crisis in the country, caused by the breakdown of the unnatural socialist system and unresolved national question in the SFRY. The new Croatian government came into power at the decisive moment for Croatia, and for all nations and republics of the SFRY. The semiconfederal 1974 Constitution, based on the principles of consensus and parity, prevented—or better to say—considerably hindered full domination of two, for Croatia, equally detrimental trends: The rule of the Yugoslav imperialistic bureaucracy, and the Serbian hegemonistic policy over other nations in the country.

Croatia today is facing special forms of anti-Croatian threats. On the one hand here are attempts to restore the Yugoslav communist movement, which we could not underestimate, because we knew that they were relying on armed force and expressed interest of international factors for the survival of Yugoslavia, irrespective of the fact that it had no political [word indistinct]. Dogmatic communist and anti-Croatian hegemonistic forces have been acting according to a plan aimed at causing interethnic conflicts and, thus, making a pretext for an armed intervention, knowing that the international public would not approve of the toppling of a democratically elected government in Croatia and the restoration of the communist rule. Within this scenario, social unrests were caused and [words indistinct] to replace Croatia's representatives and force them to resign.

On the other hand [word indistinct] we are faced with the hitherto unprecedented upsurge in greater Serbian expansionism and memorandum-style [reference to the so-called Memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Science and Arts] policy of Serbia. These policies, which are being fully carried out by the leadership of the Republic of Serbia, and which are today being equally advocated by almost all streams of Serbian politics—both those Socialist parties in power and those of the [word indistinct] of democratic Serbia. [passage indistinct]

Croatia, however, is also faced with the remnants of Yugoslav, AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia], socialist integralism, which Serbia rejected by destroying the SFRY Constitution of 1974, and which today the Federal Government is trying in vain to rescue with its forum program [word indistinct] democracy in the market economy, as are some army circles, with the support of the armed forces. Among these ranks there are very radical [word indistinct], and some more moderate, who are attempting to find some form of a political-military solution for maintaining Yugoslavia as it is. Within this context the formation of the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia [Savez Komunista—Pokret za Jugoslaviju] came about within, and embracing the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army], program of which was most eloquently presented by the political department of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense in its well-known report in January this year.

In these and similar ranks of the remnants of the dogmatic and, until recently, the ruling communist forces, the establishment of the democratic governments of Croatia and Slovenia is seen as a temporary victory, a victory of imported counterrevolution from the West. In keeping with this there are signs of a restoration of communist socialism reliant on the USSR, which according to them remains a superpower on which they can depend. However, this attempt to revive the Yugoslav-(?unitarist), Yugoslav communist movement has met with total failure, particularly in Croatia. Besides which, it should be borne in mind that any form of Yugoslav integrality, both the Army, dubious AVNOJ, militaristic type, and the Markovic reform-democratic type, was rejected and defeated at the elections last year in all republics, and particularly in the plebiscite in Slovenia and the referendum in Croatia.

We must particularly stress the fact that despite the declarative recognition of democratic principles and norms of behavior, on the recognition of the legitimacy of the democratic government of the sovereign Republic of Croatia, from all political forces and the highest state bodies in the SFRY and all republics, we are faced in reality with a completely opposite policy and moves.

Therefore, we have to state that in practical life, many actions of the top state bodies of the SFRY and the Republic of Serbia constitutionally [word indistinct] the destruction of the sovereignty and democratic-constitutional order of the Republic of Croatia. Without this, the appearance of greater Serbian banditry and Chetnik terrorism, aimed not only against the legal government and integrity of the Republic of Croatia, but also against the very existence of the Croatian nation in their own motherland, would have been possible. Clearly, in Croatia too, it was intended that the scenario should be repeated, according to which, by violent means, the constitutional provincial autonomy of Vojvodina and Kosovo were destroyed, and after which there followed the most crude violation of human and national rights in Kosovo, all of which was actively or passively assisted by the top federal authorities, the SFRY Presidency, the Federal Assembly, the Federal Government and the JNA.

When we look at the political situation over the past year, it should be recalled that a year ago, Croatia, together with Slovenia, was in the grip of Communism. Moreover, Croatia was in a state of serious political passivity, almost paralyzed. Besides this, we inherited the deepest and most complete crisis in the economy, which was totally lacking in self-sufficiency, as part of the centralized, and even the reformist economic policy, which showed itself to be a solution without any other alternative, and gaining support from abroad as a guaantee for the preservation of Yugoslavia.

All this time our republican government has been torn between supporting Markovic's reform program for political reasons, and dissatisfaction of Croatian economic subjects, enterprises, institutions and even ordinary citizens, over concrete steps taken by the federal government. Not just our export industry and tourism, but also all citizens with foreign currency savings felt the consequences of the economic policy, which impoverished the export economy and left these citizens with nothing. Besides, the federal government was incapable of preventing Serbia from intruding into the monetary system, and robberies of Croatian and Slovene enterprises in Serbia. How much did Croatia lose in the centralized monetary and foreign currency policy, restrictive [words indistinct]?

Let us recall: In establishing democratic rule a year ago, we inherited Croatia which, instead of sovereignty, had some sort of republican, we can say, regional autonomy, which the old authorities in the socialist Croatia kept and sustained with great difficulties. The old communist authorities in Croatiaj, especially after 1971, tried to conduct an un-Croatian, timid, passive policy, while at the same time boasting of conducting some Yugoslav policy, although it was against the interest of the Croatian people and [passage indistinct].

A year ago, we inherited a Croatia in which the authorities, both in Croatia and Yugoslavia, had been constantly eroding Croatia's sovereignty by depriving the Croatian people of the power to decide on their interests, policies, and spiritual identity [passage indistinct].

Croatia was the most prominent [word indistinct] of these trends, Yugo-ideology, Yugo-names, and various other policies. Croatian man could neither find nor use the normal Croatian language, normal Croatian names; he could neither express freely his patriotism, nor display with pride Croatian symbolism. Croatian people were jailed and expelled from the country just for spreading in word or letter the idea of independent Croatia, for striving that the interests of the Croatian nation determine Croatian policy toward the SFRY and the free countries of this world.

Republican and Yugoslav secret services were specially organized with the aim of erradicating all attempts of Croatian people, home and abroad, to affirm with the international public the Croatian name and the right of the Croatian nation to its own sovereign Croatian state. The struggle for Croatian democracy in a short preelection period started at the time when the Croatian national being was so deeply divided that a serious historical rift and ideological conflict prevented it from being self-reliant, and from realizing its stifled and (?started) national wishes. [passage indistinct] Despite this, the fact is that democratic countries and the whole United Nations Organization in their support for human rights have not sufficiently prepared their policy for the creation of national states. They have not yet found a satisfactory answer to the question of how to ensure the realization of the natural right [words indistinct]. This of course, creates difficulties in the realization of the (?will) of the Croatian nation (?which was) [words indistinct].

But regardless of this we are aware of the fact that the crucial moment has come when Croatia must and can achieve its [words indistinct] (?tasks of its battle). With its own strength, and with the help of the democratic forces of the free world, the Croatian nation, as well as being one of the oldest nations in the present Europe, represents [words indistinct] of the international community of the free nations of [word indistinct]. [applause]

To achieve this supreme aim in a democratic way [words indistinct]. With this aim in view, it was necessary first to awaken the self-awareness of the people, to free them of the threats, accusations, and false feelings of guilt, and return to them open dignity and pride. [passage indistinct]

Political efforts aimed at the gradual realization of the constitutional sovereignty of Croatia based on democratic and European (?principles), [words indistinct] the passing of amendments to the existing Croatian Constitution at the end of July last year, [word indistinct] two months after [word indistinct] democratic power. The amendments [words indistinct] the old socialist system. They contained the basic democratic principles, which will be fully examined and incorporated in the new constitution of Croatia (?submitted to the Croatian Assembly) [words indistinct].

The forthcoming decisions on the proclamation of Croatia's full sovereignty and independence, whether on the alliance of sovereign states or on independence, will require accelerated efforts aimed at passing both transitional and permanent legal documents. As far as the construction of the new democratic constitutional and legal order is concerned, special attention should be drawn to the fact that we must all make far greater efforts for the speedier and more effective overcoming of the bureaucratic structure inherited from undemocratic habits of the state administration, especially for the prevention of all forms of abuse and [words indistinct]. We must be more determined in eliminating the causes of all forms of inefficiency and mistakes in the work of republican and local organs of administration. We must improve the methods of work of the republican government and assembly, although the assembly structure inherited from the old constitution is hampering the constituting of the assembly as a truly modern legislature. This is one more reason why we should set up an assembly, as soon as possible, in keeping with the provisions of the new constitution. [passage omitted]

On the problem of Serbs in Croatia. Today's problems concerning the position and attitude of some Serbs in Croatia are caused by two things: First, terrorist banditry against the constitutional order and territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia was encouraged and brought about by the scenario of Belgrade's policy on the creation of greater Serbia. Second, the dissatisfaction among the majority of the Serbian population was caused by the establishment of the sovereignty of the Croatian people in its own republic, the fact with which those Serbs who had held privileged positions—i.e. the positions of a ruling nation—do not want to reconcile themselves. [passage omitted]

The new Croatian Constitution determines and coordinates the position of the Serbian and other nationalities in Croatia according to European democratic principles. At the level of individuals, Serbs are guaranteed all human and citizens' rights, and at the level of collectivity, cultural and local self-government should be ensured for Serbs. This democratic change was accepted by the majority of Serbs in Croatia, and there are also no objections to it by any other nationalities in Croatia. Croatian and Serbian experts have been working together on the project of cultural autonomy since last summer. [passage omitted]

A victory for democratic forces in the spring last year against a single-party communist system, support by the majority of people for the sovereignty of the republic [of Croatia], and resistance to the greater Serbian hegemonism and the Yugoslav integralism that was expressed in the recent referendum—all these are epochal achievements of the recent Croatian history.

Working under extremely unfavorable conditions of Knin banditism and terrorism, the greater Serbian expansion and the constant threat of JNA intervention, the new Croatian democracy kept its dignity, rebuilding the inherited institutionalized system of the single-party and totalitarian government. Despite such difficult conditions we have not abandoned the principle of resolving problems democratically and peacefully, which doubtlessly won sincere international recognition, particularly those steps that we are going to take, and it has also contributed to the fact that the Croatian people should rid themselves of the imposed complex of historic reality.

The newly established democratic and legal system obviously finds its best expression in the functioning of legislative and nonlegislative opposition, in the freedom of press and freedom of religion. A dialogue of opposition parties has been initiated in the Croatian Assembly, and through an interparty council. The Croatian authorities have enabled all political organizations to work—even those with extreme political programs if they use political rather than forceful methods. To achieve a political dialogue and to find permanent solutions to the coexistence of the Serbs and the Croats, we did not ban the Serbian Democratic Party, even though its militant wing supported the Knin decisions.

Many proposals to open up the Croatian Assembly to all political parties, i.e., to those that did not win a single deputy to the Assembly, then proposals to set up some kind of a government of national salvation, or a demand that an interparty forum verifies decisions by the state leadership and the Croatian Government are unacceptable, because it would represent the suspension of the recently adopted Constitution, and laws, as well as the basic democratic principle on the relations between the

party that won the elections and opposition parties, the responsibility of which should be proportional to the trust of the electoral body. All such and similar proposals and demands remind us of long-forgotten formulas of the National Front, or of attempts at the creation of a heterogeneous coalition.

A mention should also be made that there are tendencies to abuse democracy against the interests and sovereignty of the Republic of Croatia recalling the general human and democratic rights. In such cases we should also have the EC as an example in which the democratic system and democratic norms cannot be a basis for the destruction of sovereign rights of nations and states. Misunderstanding and abuse of democracy is also present in attempts by advocates of undemocratic, particularly of unitarian and dogmatic tendencies, and unsuccessful Stalinist dilettantes, to act against democratic achievements and the new democratic government in Croatia. The sheer hypocricy of such behavior is also present in an attempt to negate the referendum results.

Although we did not completely get rid of the heritage from the ideological and political indoctrination in the interest of unbiased professionalism in journalism, public information media have been transformed into free democratic media not controlled by the government. The process of democratic transformation of all public information media has been speeded up, which has also been supported by foreign investors. Many new, independent and market-oriented papers, magazines, radio and television stations have appeared.

Finally, the new democratic government has made the rights and duties of believers of all religions equal with rights of atheists. It has granted the same legal and real status to the religious press, religious programs, religious education, and work of religious communities. It can be concluded from this that the development of the new democracy in Croatia has stable bases and is on the right path. [applause] [passage omitted]

The will of the people, expressed at the referendum, reaffirmed before the entire domestic and world public the constitutionally established provision whereby the sovereignty of the Republic of Croatia is inalienable, indivisible, and untransferable. [applause] In keeping with this we are bound by the referendum to examine whether the time has come to implement Constitutional Article 140, according to which the Croatian Assembly must pass separate decisions aimed at the protection of sovereignty and in the interests of the Republic of Croatia. [passage omitted]

## Milosevic Delivers Speech to Serbian Assembly

*AU3005113491 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 0812 GMT 30 May 91*

[Speech by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic to the Serbian Assembly—live]

[Text] Respected deputies: There is no citizen of Yugoslavia today who is not concerned about his own future and the future of his children. The country has been weakened by the long, intense economic crisis and the increasing national conflicts. We have been subjected to open foreign pressures and threats. Outside factors are already openly giving support to forces of the disintegration of Yugoslavia. Such actions can no longer be concealed with statements about extending support to its unity.

Great outside pressure on Serbia has been present in the last few days. These pressures have so far been primarily political, but they are increasingly acquiring an economic character. Their aim is to influence how relations are organized in Serbia and Yugoslavia. These relations should be organized according to a recipe written outside Serbia and outside Yugoslavia.

This is not the first time that we are facing the aims of great and powerful forces and that, in relation to them, we are put into an extremely unequal and dependent position only because we are a small country and because we are not behaving in a way that they find appropriate. This will not be the first time that we resist these pressures. What hits us and what should disturb all peoples is the unique absurdity that at the present time of great democratic and humanist achievements, political violence is being applied, economic violence is being announced, and this does not discount physical violence, against peoples and people who care about their independence and autonomy.

We have been faced with an escalation of a change in the stand of some outside factors regarding the integrity of Yugoslavia, which has been visible for a long time. This fact undoubtedly increases the difficulties in resolving the crisis.

I would like to be able to believe that United States representatives in Yugoslavia have deceived their own government regarding facts about Yugoslavia and Serbia with the help of politicians from the northwest part of our country who have, under the guise of democracy, sold secessionism to them. However, even if this harmless and not to mention naive explanation were acceptable, not even this would be justification for the crude interference by foreign countries in the internal affairs of an independent country, which goes as far as interference in the election of personalities to political posts. This particularly could not be a justification for support for Albanian separatists in Kosovo and Metohija.

The citizens of Serbia and the Serbian people have already responded to this because every child here knows the truth about Kosovo and Serbia. Precisely because of this, I do not have any need to speak about this. Furthermore, I would say to those who think that there is a need that I will not speak about this because I will not agree to justify to anyone why the Republic of Serbia is not allowing the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo and Metohija to be killed again and why we are not willing to

conduct dialogue on the possibility of creating an Albanian state on the territory of Serbia. So there is no confusion, I want to openly say that everyone who demands a deviation from the stands on these issues can only achieve this by bringing down the present leadership of Serbia.

If the human rights of Albanians really were threatened in Kosovo and Metohija, we certainly would not hesitate to protect them. We are proud that Serbia is not conducting a nationalist policy and that no one in Serbia is discriminated against for being a Slovene, Croat, or a member of another people or national minority.

No one in Serbia is or will be a second-class citizen, apart from Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo and Metohija if we accept the ultimatums and pressures that we have been subjected to.

Through the latest events and above all the serious conflicts and acts of state terror in Croatia, the state and political crisis in Yugoslavia, which has for a long time involved interethnic conflicts, has acquired the form of an armed showdown with elements of a civil war. The number of dead and injured is growing, as is the number of women and children who are refugees. Interruptions in traffic and supplies are increasing, too. Thus, apart from the already existing situation of the suspension, violation, and blockages in the federal legal order and the work of the federal services, these occurrences show that the present political, legal, and economic situation in Yugoslavia contains more and more danger of violence and anarchy.

[Text] Through conflicts and victims, through pressures and one-sided acts against the Yugoslav Constitution, attempts are being made to set up independent, autonomous, and sovereign national and nationalist states from the existing Yugoslav republics. The nationalist aims of the leaders of these republics threaten the interests of the whole country, all Yugoslav peoples, and all citizens of Yugoslavia. They particularly threaten the interests of the Serbian people because a third of the Serbian people live outside the present Republic of Serbia.

Historically superseded nationalist concepts of a state structure and the territorial pretensions characteristic of them are being manifested as, among other things, the denationalization of other peoples or as their deprecation. Under these conditions, what is involved is the natural and legitimate self-defense of a people that stems from their historic dignity. Attempts to use a great and well-organized propaganda hullabaloo to portray this as banditry and lawlessness are the best sign of the lack of constructiveness and the impotence of a chauvinist and profascist concept that has an impact on the popular interest and the dignity of people and peoples and their just struggle for civil and national equality.

In this respect, the authors of the insults involving banditry and lawlessness simply overlook the fact that there cannot be a bandit or outlaw in the yard of their own houses and on the threshold of their homes.

Under these conditions, the negotiations that we have had in an attempt to secure peace and reach an agreement on the solution to the crisis have increased in significance and intensity virtually to the same extent that their results have been shown to be only differences.

The experiences of our history form the basis of the awareness that it is the right of all citizens and therefore, the citizens of Serbia, too, and the Serbian people, to refuse to be victims of the nationalist, political, and personal interests of their supposed saviors and supposed fighters for democracy. As a result, we have been constantly advocating that the conflicts and crisis be resolved as a whole in a peaceful and democratic way based on the Constitution.

We do not consider this to be our weakness; therefore, we are not setting up military formations or national guard units, and we are not arming citizens and we are not banging at the doors of world capitals begging for political and material aid and to buy weapons and military equipment. Nor do we consider this our weakness because there is absolutely no doubt that we know how to protect our interests and to defend them from any violence, as we have done numerous times in the past.

Everyone knows that we in Serbia, both in all our documents and in our entire political life, have committed ourselves to the stand that Serbs must live in one state, and of course, we want that state to be a Yugoslavia in which Serbs should live together with other Yugoslav peoples who want the same thing. The public knows that the stand of Montenegro and the Montenegrin people is identical in this respect and that on this basis we are jointly conducting the incipient negotiations on the future of the Yugoslav federation; therefore, no one can abolish it.

It is in our interest that Yugoslavia be a united, free, democratic federal state and that all peoples in it be on an equal footing and all citizens be equal. As is well-known, this is not just our ideal but our political orientation, which expresses the spirit of changes in Europe and the world in general.

This is why all those people who are today holding scissors above the map of Yugoslavia should be aware of the fact that different peoples in nationally mixed states can preserve their identity and integrity only if this state ensures their national equality. Hence, the efforts aimed toward abolishing one state with a view to creating several nationalistic states or, to put it better, mini-states, something that represents a serious contradiction to the modern trends in the world and expresses unhistorical and conservative views. Particularly in Europe in which borders are now disappearing even between the states with 1,000 years of tradition, turning borders between the Yugoslav republics into state borders represents an absurd idea.

We are aware of the fact that Yugoslavia has so far not been set up in the best way, but consequences of, and particularly blame for this cannot be borne by the

present generations. We know that changes are also necessary in its internal setup in conformity with economic, technological, cultural, and democratic achievements in the world, which is in the interest of our own development, but these changes should be made in a peaceful and legal way and through Yugoslav institutions. This is why we advocate that Yugoslavia be preserved and not abolished. It will certainly not become democratic and rich if it ceases to exist.

It is known that during the talks about the future of the country concerning its constitutional setup, we advocated the following principles:

First, Yugoslavia should be a democratic federation, that is, a federal state, and not a confederation, that is, a union of states. A union of sovereign states would above all mean that Yugoslavia would disappear and be abolished as a joint state of equal Yugoslav peoples. Abolishing Yugoslavia would threaten the vital interests of the peoples living in it and particularly those peoples who are living in several present republics and have economic, political, national, cultural, and historical interests to stay together.

Second, the federal state should be composed of peoples, republics, and citizens who are standing on a completely equal footing and are completely equal. Therefore, the state should be built upon the sovereignty of citizens—which is an element of cohesion—and upon the joining of republics—which is an element of uniqueness—as well as on special guarantees that national equality will be realized.

Third, the state would have to guarantee a market economy, a unified market, full freedom of movement of labor, goods, and capital, and a fully equal and free position of economic subjects. It would also have unified functions of defense, foreign affairs, and protection of human and civil rights. This means that for the state to be democratic, modern, and based on the rule of law, the Yugoslav services would have to have power when it comes to the spheres of market and economic operations, foreign affairs, civil freedoms and rights, defense, and security.

Fourth, a joint state of Yugoslav peoples and republics implies that its services are formed and work in a democratic way, which implies that they are elected in direct and multiparty elections, that they work efficiently, which implies that they are acting timely and without the possibility of being blocked, that they work in a constitutional and legal manner, that is, exclusively according to the law and constitution, and responsibly.

Fifth, the organization of authority should be based on the distribution of power into legislative, executive and judicial power, because such an organization makes it certain that the authority is democratic, legitimate, and responsible. Legislative power should be executed by a bicameral assembly consisting of a chamber of citizens or a federal chamber elected directly according to the number of citizens, and a chamber of republics, to which every republic will elect an equal number of members. The chambers should make decisions on an equal footing.

As is known, a proposal contrary to this one has been defined involving a union of sovereign states. This is in fact a proposal to abolish Yugoslavia and turn it into several sovereign states in the form of present republics. Considering this, it was only natural and to be expected that the result of the present talks among presidents of the republics would be to conclude that there is a need to hold a referendum, because nobody could openly oppose the simple request that the fate of Yugoslavia should be decided by the people living in it.

In the very first step toward carrying out a referendum, however, this result was undermined because of opposition involving artificial dilemmas; that is to say, issues that are not in the least bit disputable nor, in our opinion, could they be disputable. It has turned out that, in fact, there is no desire to decide in Yugoslavia on the basis of the interests of its peoples and on the basis of the principle of national equality, but on the basis of decisions that are made in advance and on the already existing nationalist confrontations, which have after all been shown to be the most effective means to destroy and abolish Yugoslavia. It is not surprising, therefore, that the artificial dilemmas that relate to different referendums through the republics and different procedures, the question of whether citizens or peoples vote, and the role of Yugoslav organs have been created.

I will briefly explain why I think that we are talking about artificial dilemmas and contrived issues. First, for the referendum to have any meaning at all, it must produce results that can be compared in all republics—that is to say, the voting must be organized on the same questions, on the same day, and according to the same procedure in all republics. If this is not so, from the point of view of the content of talks that we have had, the achieved results would not have any value and they would in fact only represent confirmation of the stands that the representatives of certain republics have so far advocated.

Second, the dilemma over whether citizens or peoples vote is artificial because people vote on these issues both in their capacity as citizens and their capacity as members of a people, that is to say in their capacity as both. There is no contradiction in this respect. That is to say, if the interest is undermined for further cohabitation in Yugoslavia, then this issue must be voted on by the two basic factors of Yugoslavia, the Yugoslav peoples and the republics. This proceeds directly from Article One of the Constitution of Yugoslavia that says, and I quote: The SFRY is a federation of states of voluntarily unified peoples and their republics. End of quote.

The expression of the will of all Yugoslavs in their capacity as citizens and in their capacity as members of a people ensures that decisions are not made through national majoritarianism in the republics. That is to say,

the right to self-determination of any of the Yugoslav peoples is not violated or denigrated. If there were no threat to the separation of parts of a people that live in several republics into an independent state, which undermines their interests and turns them into national minorities, there would be no justification for voting by peoples as well as citizens; that is to say, only citizens would vote on the state form of one state. In this case, however, every Yugoslav people as a whole and not in parts throughout the republics have the right to self-determination, which also means the right to vote.

The third dilemma, which is connected with the role and existence of the federal constitution and federal services in the procedure for resolving the constitutional and political crisis is artificial—if a peaceful, democratic, and legal solution to the crisis is desired—because the talks and even agreements between the presidents of the republics and the results of the referendum in the republics cannot be abolished or changed by the existing Constitution of Yugoslavia.

We think, therefore, that even if the result of the referendum expresses the will of the peoples to leave Yugoslavia, this decision can be legally implemented only by changing the Constitution of Yugoslavia, which no one will oppose and no one will challenge such a decision if it is not to the detriment of other republics or another Yugoslav people.

For all these reasons, I think that the best thing is for a referendum to be scheduled by the Assembly of Yugoslavia, as the authority responsible for changing the Constitution of Yugoslavia, and on the basis of the provisions of this Constitution, for the sake of a preliminary vote on the issues in the Assembly's jurisdiction, as this is after all set down in Article 146 of the Yugoslav Constitution. [sentence as heard]

I, therefore, do not see one single reason to go the illegal way instead of the legal way, particularly if it is borne in mind that under the existing circumstances, the legal way is the only way to guarantee the resolution of the crisis in a peaceful way. As far as we are concerned, the people who want to leave Yugoslavia can do so, but in a legal way and without violence. This is a way out that should be acceptable for everyone because in this way the danger of armed interethnic clashes and the outbreak of civil war can be avoided.

The question of the survival or the abolition of Yugoslavia as a common state is the essence of all disagreements in the talks so far and all these disagreements can be reduced to this issue. Neither political pluralism nor the market economy are in dispute. This is a question of the struggle for the survival of the Yugoslav state on the one hand and separatist aspirations on the other. I think that the preservation of Yugoslavia represents our vital interest, and Serbia should use all means to help all those throughout Yugoslavia who want to maintain this interest, so that this interest is realized.

I am personally convinced that not one citizen who cares about Yugoslavia will allow his homeland to disappear just like that, both because of everything that has been put into Yugoslavia and because of peace and freedom that Yugoslavia can, by existing, ensure for future generations.

There can be no formal agreement on the present secessionist demands because they are at variance with the Constitution of Yugoslavia and actual agreement because the right of a people to self-determination has always been limited by the same equal rights of other people. What is unacceptable in the present confrontations, therefore, is that those people who are striving to preserve Yugoslavia are blamed for the crisis within it. Besides, I think that the orientation of the Serbian people toward preserving Yugoslavia together with other peoples who would wish to do so is not to the detriment of any of the Yugoslav peoples nor does it call into question the right of any of them to leave Yugoslavia.

It is an undisputable fact that the right of a people to self-determination in a multinational state cannot be territorially limited to existing administrative borders between republics. The borders between the republics within Yugoslavia have never been state borders. It is well-known that they were drawn in the past arbitrarily and without objective criteria—that is, disregarding ethnical composition of the population—the consequences of the genocide suffered by the Serbian people, or the norms of international law. As a result, the right to self-determination cannot be reserved only for a majority people in a nationally mixed republic. If that were so, the interests of those peoples who constitute a smaller number in a part of the Yugoslav territory within the borders of individual republics would be violated under the guise of civil democracy.

The Serbian people in general wish to continue life in Yugoslavia and have the right to advocate the realization of this legitimate interest. Yugoslavia exists and we need nobody to consent to this fact. Yugoslavia simply cannot cease to exist because some Yugoslav peoples want to leave it, just as it would not cease to exist if some new peoples wanted to enter it. The question of borders is not an issue for the people who advocate Yugoslavia. This problem will have to be confronted above all by those who want to leave Yugoslavia. It is only logical and also just that those who broach a problem must make an effort to solve it, considering the fact that solutions cannot be sought or found to the detriment of others and can be both sought and found on the principles of respecting people's will and right to self-determination.

Therefore, those people who wish to constitute new states should—in their own interest and as soon as possible—clearly realize the fact that entire sections of those Yugoslav peoples who favor the survival of Yugoslavia cannot be pulled by force into their future national states. This fact clearly points to numerous and serious difficulties that should be solved, but the burden of solving these difficulties and the consequences of tearing

Yugoslavia apart, of unilateral acts, and of the failure to recognize the rights of other Yugoslav peoples must be borne by those people who decided to secede from Yugoslavia and not those who want to preserve it.

I am convinced that a way out of the crisis is possible if the freely expressed will of all Yugoslav peoples is respected. It is our stand that the fate of Yugoslavia can be decided upon only by the Yugoslav people directly and that as long as the SFRY Constitution is not changed, the legality and legitimacy of the Yugoslav institutions must be respected. This is a condition for peace in the country.

The Republic of Serbia guarantees peace for all the citizens and peoples who live in it, but it demands this from others too. We believe in peace and we are committed to a democratic solution. This means that Serbia and the Serbian people will respect the rights and freedoms of other peoples and respect their will.

Finally, in reply to the question of what kind of policy to conduct further and in which direction the negotiations should continue, I think that we should advocate the following quite specific proposals. I will present them briefly in five points:

One, that all political institutions in the country and the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] guarantee peace. This implies that the existence of any military formations should be prohibited, apart from the JNA and the regular militia.

Two, that a constitutional law be adopted immediately that will determine the way to exercise the right of people to self-determination, in the same way for everyone, so the peoples who want to separate and set up their own separate states be allowed to do this in a peaceful way without violence. The regulation of the way of exercising the right to self-determination through a constitutional law in the same way for everyone, avoids the danger of this right being abused and thus violate the equal rights of another people or other peoples.

Three, that a referendum be carried out on the basis of a decision by the SFRY Assembly in the same way, on the same day, and with the same questions and that its results give a clear picture of the will of citizens and of the will of the peoples of Yugoslavia.

Four, that proceeding from the results of the referendum, the will of the peoples of Yugoslavia be realized in line with the adopted constitutional law and demarcations [razgranicenje] be carried out.

Five, that free, multiparty elections be scheduled and held for the SFRY Assembly.

Respected deputies, as many times before in the history of our people, their freedom has been threatened. This time, the strongest forces against us are among us. Perhaps, therefore, the battle for the freedom of Yugoslav peoples and particularly for the community of Yugoslav states is more difficult. However, it will certainly rally together the most progressive and humane people in our country.

The Serbian people and all citizens of Serbia should take part in this battle for Yugoslavia in line with their best traditions and most progressive achievements, bearing in mind their interests but also considering the interests of all others, that is to say, of those with whom we should share our life together.

We are ready to offer the best that we have for the sake of Yugoslavia: Good will and the willingness to share good and evil together. Of course, in this respect we expect the same good will and willingness from others. Any other solution and particularly a solution that would be the result of selfishness and aggression could momentarily calm selfish and conceited politicians, but it would not bring peace and tranquility, and it would not bring progress to the peoples and citizens of Yugoslavia. It would particularly not bring this to future generations.

All political decisions in our country and, therefore in Serbia too, should be guided by these aims: peace, tranquility, and progress for all people who live in Yugoslavia.

Thank you for your attention.

### Opposition Deputies Quit Serbian Assembly Session

*LD3005212491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1636 GMT 30 May 91*

[Text] Belgrade, May 30 (TANJUG)—The Serbian parliament today publicly, by a majority vote, elected Zoran Sokolovic, 53, deputy of the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS), the new Serbian interior minister.

Sokolovic was elected in place of Radmilo Bogdanovic, also from the ranks of the SPS, who under public pressure handed in his resignation after the opposition demonstrations in Belgrade, held on March 9. During the demonstrations one high school student and one policeman were killed, over one hundred demonstrators were injured and more than one hundred arrested.

Sokolovic is the leader of the group of deputies of the ruling SPS in the Serbian parliament and had been president of the previous one-party republican parliament.

The election of Sokolovic was carried out in the absence of the deputies of two of the strongest opposition parties in the Serbian parliament, the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO) and the Democratic Party (DP).

The deputies of the two opposition parties at around noon today walked out of the parliamentary session after Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic's speech since their proposal to discuss Milosevic's speech in his presence was rejected.

Serbian parliamentary president Slobodan Unkovic proposed that the parliamentary presidency organize a session on resolving the political crisis in the country and that the republican president, in line with the constitution, be asked to take part in it.

Milosevic today in the Serbian parliament set out a five-point program for resolving the Yugoslav crisis.

Milosevic underscored that Serbia should "by all means" help those who wish to preserve Yugoslavia and that republics which wish to constitute themselves as national states "must face the issue of borders". Milosevic said that the present inter-republican borders were set up arbitrarily and unobjectively, and denied them the character of state borders.

### Serbian Assembly Elects New Interior Minister

*LD3005161191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1505 GMT 30 May 91*

[Text] Belgrade, 30 May (TANJUG)—The Serbian Assembly today elected by a show of hands Zoran Sokolovic, deputy of the Socialist Party of Serbia, as new minister of internal affairs. New minister for science and technology is Djordje Jovic—currently president of Belgrade chamber of economy.

### Slovene Assembly Meets; Assembly Building Guarded

*AU3005192891 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 30 May 91*

[Dragoslav Kosaric report]

[Text] A four-day meeting of the Slovene Assembly has opened in Ljubljana. The Assembly is going to discuss a package of laws connected with Slovenia's independence. Here is Dragoslav Kosaric reporting on the first day of the meeting:

[Kosaric] Today's meeting of the Slovene Assembly is being held in an unusual atmosphere. Namely, special forces of the Slovene militia in full equipment with bullet-proof vests and special helmets are guarding the inside of the Assembly building. At the same time, Milan Aksentijevic, colonel of the Yugoslav People's Army and Slovene Assembly deputy, is today for the first time attending the session in civilian clothes.

The proposal of the law on the control of the future Slovene state borders caused various reactions and remarks at the session of the Sociopolitical Chamber. Thus, Joze Smole is of the opinion that one is taking restrictive measures as if Slovenia is surrounded by enemies alone. Franco Juri, representative of the Italian minority, warned the deputies that Europe expects Slovenia, as well as other Yugoslav republics, not to change borders. Political maturity, Juri said, means to preserve integration that already exists.

One should said at the end that it is tomorrow that one should expect a harsh debate—on the law on citizenship. It is proposed that the right to have Slovene citizenship should be granted to all non-Slovenes who have been living in this republic for more than 10 years. Other conditions should also include knowledge of the language and a medical checkup. The opposition favors milder criteria for all those people who are permanent residents of Slovenia at the moment.

### Demos' Pucnik: Situation Increasingly 'Critical'

*AU3005142991 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 2055 GMT 29 May 91*

[Interview with Joze Pucnik, head of the Demos coalition of Slovenia, by Gerhard Seifried in Ljubljana on 29 May—recorded]

[Text] [Seifried] The head of the Slovene government alliance does not conceal his concern about future development.

[Pucnik] The situation is dangerous, and it is slowly becoming more and more critical. We are trying to keep our heads. As already mentioned, however, the next steps depend very much on the other side.

[Seifried] What can the Slovene government do in the case of a massive military intervention?

[Pucnik] This depends on how massive and brutal it is. This is the question. There were enough threats last year. There are also threats today and there will probably be threats tomorrow. We will not react to every threat. If military force is directly used, however, we will, of course, have no other choice. Then we will have to implement the declaration of independence.

### Tupurkovski's View on Presidency Proposal Noted

*LD3005171691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1557 GMT 30 May 91*

[Text] Skopje, 30 May (TANJUG)—A proposal that the positions of SFRY Presidency president and vice president be ceded to Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia, which was sent to all SFRY Presidency members by four of its members, is presented as a kind of a compromise solution to unblock the SFRY Presidency, obviously only according to its proposers. My personal opinion is—Vasil Tupurkovski said today at a news conference—that the proposal of the four SFRY Presidency members represents a definitely negative reply in connection with the proclamation of Stipe Mesic as SFRY Presidency president.

Tupurkovski stressed that he will insist in the coming days that all Presidency members meet to hold yet another round of talks on a final solution to this situation.

### Macedonia Proposes Dropping 'Socialist' Title

*LD3005165591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1429 GMT 30 May 91*

[Text] Skopje, 30 May (TANJUG)—The constitutional commission of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia today established proposed amendments which will enable dropping of the ideological adjective "socialist" from the name of the republic.

The amendments, which will be adopted at the next session of the Macedonian Assembly, expect that a state of emergency in Macedonia, or part of its territory, should no longer be covered by the federal laws, nor should the federal leadership be able to adopt decisions in this connection. It will be the Macedonian Assembly that will take over the competence and will be able to adopt such decisions at a proposal of the president of the republic, the prime minister, and 30-member group of deputies. In case the Macedonian Assembly is not in a position to meet, the president of the republic proclaims a state of emergency.

### Republic Leaders Receive Kohl, Mitterand Appeal

*LD3005200591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0916 GMT 30 May 91*

[Text] Belgrade, May 30 (TANJUG)—French President Francois Mitterrand and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl have appealed to the leaders of the Yugoslav republics to make an effort in order to prevent a further straining of the situation in the country and disintegration of the Yugoslav community.

The Yugoslav Foreign Ministry informs that the joint message signed by the two statesmen was delivered by the ambassadors of France and Germany to Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar last night, during the second round of talks between Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic and President of the European Council Jacques Santer and President of the European Community Commission Jacques Delors.

The message says that this is another way in which Mitterrand and Kohl are giving their full support to the mission of Santer and Delors, who arrived in Belgrade yesterday. It further stresses that the exacerbating confrontations in Yugoslavia are a danger to stability in the region and in Europe as a whole. Mitterrand and Kohl call for dialogue and consultations among all relevant factors in Yugoslavia in order that the crisis should be resolved and agreement reached in a democratic manner. The message came on the eve of a series of separate talks that Santer and Delors hold in Belgrade today with the presidents of the six Yugoslav republics.

### Republican Presidents Meet With EC Officials

*AU3005115891 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 30 May 91*

[Dragan Colovic report from the Palace of the Federation]

[Text] Council of Europe Chairman Jacques Santer and European Commission Chairman Jacques Delors had talks with presidents of presidencies and presidents of republics in the Palace of the Federation this morning. They first had talks with Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov and then with Montenegrin Presidency President Momir Bulatovic. The talks with Slovene Presidency President Milan Kucan have just concluded. The European officials are talking with President Slobodan Milosevic at the moment. Here is Dragan Colovic reporting from the Palace of the Federation:

[Colovic] The talks Kiro Gligorov held with Jacques Santer and Jacques Delors did not only touch upon the general questions of the Yugoslav crisis and solutions to it, but also some specific questions of the direct commitment of the European Community and other international institutions in helping Yugoslavia and its program of economic stabilization. Thus, Jacques Delors expounded on the program of the EC's aid to Yugoslavia. What is involved is a considerable financial aid amounting to $4 billion if one takes into consideration the aid by other international institutions as well. Delors expressed the EC's readiness to intercede on behalf of Yugoslavia at the IMF and other institutions, so Yugoslavia will be helped to strengthen its foreign exchange reserves and be ensured support for the convertibility of the dinar and financial rescue of Yugoslav banks and the opening a new investment cycle.

Delors and Santer expressed the EC's readiness to immediately start talks on Yugoslavia's joining [pridruzivanje] the EC, but under the condition of the constitutional crisis being solved first. The prominent guests from the EC pointed out the real political interest in preventing retrograde processes in Yugoslavia and ensuring peace and stability in the region.

Kiro Gligorov briefed Santer and Delors on the joint proposal of Macedonia and Bosnia-Hercegovina on how to solve the present Yugoslav crisis. This proposal, which is written in English, will be presented to Santer and Delors by Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic this afternoon.

The talks between Montenegrin Presidency President Momir Bulatovic, Santer, and Delors focused on the proposals of Serbia and Montenegro about the future setup of Yugoslavia. After the talks, Momir Bulatovic said that the fact that the proposals by Serbia and Montenegro are not directed toward a hard-line centralist federation and state were received by the EC officials with a certain degree of surprise. Bulatovic accepted the obligation to send Santer and Delors a proposal of stands on the future setup of Yugoslavia advocated by Serbia and Montenegro.

We have already told you that the talks of Santer and Delors with Slobodan Milosevic have just begun. The EC guests will have talks with Alija Izetbegovic and Franjo Tudjman in the afternoon. Santer and Delors are expected to meet all presidents of presidencies and of the republics again at

about 1700. Santer and Delors are expected to hold a news conference at about 1800, at which they will give their own view of the talks in Belgrade.

### U.S. Accused of Issuing 'Ultimatum' to Serbia

*LD3005165391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1420 GMT 30 May 91*

[Text] Belgrade, May 30 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily POLITIKA writes today that last week's statement of the State Department on the U.S. policy towards Yugoslavia is "a fresh idelogical-political ultimatum to Yugoslavia, and directly aimed against its Republic of Serbia." The statement, which blames Serbia for the Yugoslav political crisis in many ways resembles the 1948 Cominform resolution, the daily assesses. Under the resolution, brought by Soviet dictator Stalin, Yugoslavia was exiled from the community of socialist countries, which was followed by a breaking off of political and economic relations and fierce pressure and manifestations of military power by Eastern bloc countries.

The daily draws a similarity between the State Department's statement and the Cominform's resolution in that now the U.S. Administration accuses the Serbian Government, and not the Serbian people like the Cominform did. POLITIKA recalls that the Serbian Government was elected by the Serbian people in legal, free and multi-party elections, and that the majority of U.S. observers had positive assessments of last December's elections.

"The government can therefore be replaced only by the Serbian people the same way it was elected. Therefore, this logical state of affairs cannot be disrupted by setting up a puppet government according to foreign taste," the daily writes. POLITIKA adds that just like in 1948, a number of lies, fabrications and slander are now being put forward, such as that foreign troops on full alert are carrying out manouevres on Yugoslav borders and that special NATO brigades for emergency interventions in Yugoslavia are being formed.